HUNGARIAN SELF-DEFENCE

Bosnyák Zoltán

HERITAGE

Zoltán Bosnyák: THE HUNGARIAN FAJVÉDELEM

Zoltán Bosnyák

The half-century from the Compromise to the collapse of the nineteen-nineteen-eighty is covered in this work. This period has been portrayed by liberal, mainly Jewish, journalism and historiography as a golden age of national rise and empowerment. We now know, after the crises and shocks that threatened our entire national existence, that these fifty years, despite all the pretence of glamour and apparent success, resulted in such a fatal atrophy of the nation's spiritual and biological forces that this process must inevitably have ended in October 1918 drive. The period of Hungarian decline, however, coincided exactly with the unimaginable rise of Hungarian Jewry. Hungarian society, bewitched by liberal slogans and doctrines, and especially the leaders and authorities of public life in liberal Hungary, were unable or unwilling to see the fatal danger inherent in the rapid expansion of Jewishness. Still less were they willing to confront it. But there were brave men from the beginning who not only recognised the Jewish danger, but also confronted it. Sacrificing and despising easy and sure success, prosperity, peace and wealth, filled with a holy sense of mission, they endeavoured, amid persecution, neglect, ridicule and ridicule, to awaken the Hungarian people to the need for national self-defence.

Never in Hungarian history has there been a greater need for the self-defence of the Hungarian race than today. That is why it is necessary and instructive to recall the struggles of Istóczy, Ónody, Verhovay and others.

Introduction
The Jews in Hungary in the 19th century.
Győző Istóczy
  Pan-Judaism, anti-Judaism
  His life.
  His political activities.
  12 pamphlets.
  Istóczy's international relations.
  The first international anti-Semitic congress in Dresden.
  Economic policy.
  Legislative proposals.
  Its appreciation.
Géza Ónody.
  Tiszaeszlár.
  The antisemitic party.

  Ónody's appearance in Parliament.
Iván Simonyi
  Worldview.
  His life and personality.
  Its place and role in the antisemitic movement.
  His work as a journalist.
Vadnay Andor
  The Tapolca application.
  Istóczy's defender.
  Antisemitic MEP.
  Bailiff of Csongrád.
Gyula Verhovay
  The people's tribune.
  The Hungarian Drumont.
  In Parliament.
  Away from the world.
Egan Ede
  Who was Egan Ede?
  The Ruthenian action.
  Results and enemies.
  The end.
Miklós Bartha
  Fight for Hungarian hegemony!
  The Khazar question.
  In defence of Egan Ede.
Miklós Szemere
  A Hungarian gentleman.
  An active foreign policy.
  Questions of Hungarian destiny.
Sándor Kiss
  A champion of the idea of race.
  As opposed to the Jewish revolution.
  The essence of Jewish vitality.
  Towards a new Jewish revolution!
Béla Dáner
  Fight for the new Hungary!
Árpád Gálócsy.
  Marxism must be destroyed.
Lajos Méhely.
  The Hungarian race.
  The Jewish question.
  Fight for the realisation of Hungarian species protection!
  Hungarian worldview.
About Zoltán Bosnyák

Introduction

For my wife

It has been almost a hundred years since the political and social life of modern Hungary was marked by a new problem, a new task.

the Jewish question also arises. At the Diet of Bratislava between 1838 and 1842, there were in-depth and lengthy debates about the role, influence and essence of the Jewish people. The issue was pushed to the fore by the Jews themselves, on the one hand by their rapid growth, large-scale immigration and the social unrest that their lifestyle caused, especially in the north-eastern counties, and on the other by their attempts to gain more and more rights, and ultimately full political emancipation, by invoking the prevailing liberal slogans of the time. The road from 1840 to 1940, from the extension of Jewish rights to the second Jewish law, was long, turbulent, full of crises and lessons, but we now firmly believe that we are writing the last chapter of the great internal inter-racial struggle which has been waged for a century, unbloodied and unarmed, but with all the effective means of the life-and-death contest between the races. This century-long struggle has bound up and consumed much of our racial strength for the better cause, has been full of humiliations and hardships, but above all it has been rich in lessons and experiences. Today, when we believe that we will soon be able to put an end to the Jewish question once and for all, it is certainly worth looking back on. At least its decisive events, its major turning points and, above all, its leading personalities and outstanding figures have been brought back from oblivion. The human and national duty of gratitude also requires us to fly the flag, to pay homage to the brave fighters and sacrificial heroes of national self-defence. What they did was a truly brave and heroic act. For the sake of their own truths and the truth of the Hungarian people, they not only stood up to a hostile, hateful, vengeful world, but they also had to face the immeasurable short-sightedness and blunt indifference of their own kind. They are all eternal and great examples of heroic self-sacrifice, who deserve to be among the best values of Hungarian nationhood. The task which they fatefully undertook was one of the most difficult, to urge the Hungarians of their time to defend themselves, to resist the gradual encroachment of Jewry and its spiritual and intellectual influence. Yet the Jews already owned almost all the country's major economic institutions, had accumulated enormous capital, and their influence was inevitably decisive in public life.

The first fighters of the Hungarian racial defence knew very well that only hatred, persecution and persecution, mockery, slander and persecution would be their class lot, yet they took upon themselves the role destined for them. Only the racial love that pervaded their whole being, a deep sense of mission and faith in the better future of the Hungarian people could have given them the strength to take on this role. They were the true political heroes and great men of the post-reunification era. Behind the ostentatious pomp and pageantry, they saw the backwardness and the frightening atrophy of the racial forces of the Hungarian nation, foresaw the inevitable collapse and desperately protected their nation from falling into disaster.

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Especially after the World War, the so-called historical reassessment became fashionable in our country. The new trend sought to put the results and judgements of classical Hungarian historiography in a new light. This endeavour has often brought us closer to historical reality, but at other times it has led us into incorrect and erroneous exaggerations. Most strangely of all, however, the new direction of our historiography has not yet fully reassessed the actors and authorities of the post-Reunification era.

This certainly explains why the cult of liberal Hungary's greats still lives on in the public consciousness, albeit faded. It also explains why the Hungarian public perception has not yet been able to free itself from the false assessment and the burdensome intellectual legacy of the pre-war era. In the value system of our society, the real Hungarian heroes of that era - Istóczyk, Verhovayk, Simonyik and their comrades - have still not been able to take the place of the liberal pseudo-greats who came to power. And now the time has indeed come for them to take their rightful place in the public consciousness of the broadest strata of Hungarian society.

In this book you will find some biographies. We have tried to give a picture of the lives, struggles and work of the first fighters for the protection of Hungarian races. We do not give biographies in the usual sense of the word. We want to give an account of the struggle of ideas and aspirations. Together, the ten biographies are a true record of the fate, development and struggles of Hungarian racial protection. But behind them lies the entire political and economic crises of liberal Hungary after the Reunification, the public backwardness, ignorance, helplessness and sins of social existence, the hundreds of thousands of emigrants, the ravages of tuberculosis, illiteracy, the nationalist policies of two left-handed nationalists, the deficits of public finances, the erosion of the landed and urban middle classes, and above all the rapid expansion of Jewry beyond all imagination.

Apart from those mentioned in the book, there were certainly other worthy contributors to the cause of Hungarian racial protection. But the merit of the intellectual foundation, of the first proclamation of the idea, undoubtedly belongs to those who are represented here. We must emphasize here that

we did not want to commemorate the political advocates of racial protection in the first place, but the intellectual and ideological proponents who may be quite distant from everyday politics. However, as we shall see, most of the people in this volume had more or less a connection with everyday politics.
We believe that we should point out some very remarkable lessons from the history of Hungarian species protection in this introduction.

First, that anti-Judaism is not a foreign agenda, slogan or idea. It is not a political endeavour that has simply been adopted and copied from abroad, that is rootless, meaningless and forced upon Hungarian society by restless political agitators. The outline of the history of Hungarian racial defence convinces us that the idea of the self-defensive struggle of Hungarians germinated in Hungarian soil. And the idea of anti-Judaism not only did not come to us from abroad, but we were the initiators of it in European terms. In the seventies of the last century, Istóczy and his followers were the first to proclaim political anti-Semitism. It was only years later that German anti-Semitic organisations became so strong that they were able to get their representatives into the Reichstag, and it was only in the mid-1980s that the French anti-Semitic party, led by Eduard Drumond, began to organise. Hungary, recovering from national collapse even after the Second World War, was the first state to attempt to curb Jewish influence.

We can also conclude from this series of biographies that almost all of the first proponents of Hungarian racial protection and anti-Judaism were Hungarians of Hungarian blood. The Istóczyk, the Simonyik, the Ónodyk, the Szemerék were all pure offshoots of the Hungarian tribe, who perhaps for this very reason felt so deeply and truly the dangers threatening their race.
But we must also point out that Hungarian racial protection as a political programme and aspiration was a constructive idea. It did not stop at criticism, attack or defence. It was not satisfied with slogans, but it marked out a path and set the direction of correct Hungarian development. It did not confine itself to anti-Judaism. If he had to devote a large part of his strength to the fight against Jewry, it was only because of Jewry itself, for with its unquenchable greed and relentless aggression it was everywhere in the front line. Everywhere they were in the lead and claimed the leadership for themselves. They ruined the landowner, the peasant, the peasantry and the middle class alike.
They falsify our culture, they trample our national ideals and traditions in the mud, they mock what was sacred and sublime before us. Their Semitic Negro blood is increasingly being grafted into the Hungarian nation.
As they expand, they show symptoms of material decline, moral decay and spiritual decay. Is it any wonder, then, that those who did not succumb to liberal slogans and looked to the future of Hungary with concern have turned against this Hebrew-Negro tide. But alongside the Jewish threat, they also saw our other problems: our economic, social and intellectual backwardness. They saw the hypocrisy, inconsistency, dilettantism and the power of empty phrases that dominated our public life. Istóczy himself, for example, is in constant battle with the prevailing liberal economic thinking of his time. He reveals the disastrous consequences of Manchesterism, of the theory of free competition, of throwing the defenceless masses to the mercy of unscrupulous profiteering. Gyula Verhovay is the first apostle of the repatriation of Hungarians who are wandering abroad. In a whole series of political studies, Iván Simonyi searches for the essence of the modern Hungarian way of life. Ede Egán showed the way to active racial protection with the Ruthenian Action, which was later to be extended to Szeklerland. Miklós Szemere was the first initiator of youth target shooting and of the nationalist organisation of Hungarian society in the racial defence direction. In his studies, Sándor Kiss was the first to draw the attention of the Hungarian public to the importance of the racial idea and racial consciousness. Using the tools and methods of science, Lajos Méhelyos reveals the biological situation and future of the Hungarian people, outlines the most important tasks of Hungarian racial protection and initiates Hungarian scientific racial research.

The author of this work cannot fail to thank at this point all those who have helped in the collection of biographical and literary data. The sources were mainly the works, articles and speeches of the authors, which we have tried to list as precisely as possible at the end of each chapter. We have, of course, also made use of the more numerous and interesting eulogies already published, as well as the reminiscences of some Jewish liberal public writers. Finally, we were greatly assisted by the newspapers and periodicals of the time, in particular Independence, Hungarian State, Constitution, 12 Pamphlets and The Goal.
If we have succeeded in drawing the attention of the readers of this book to the first fighters for the protection of Hungarian races, we have already largely achieved our goal.

for them.

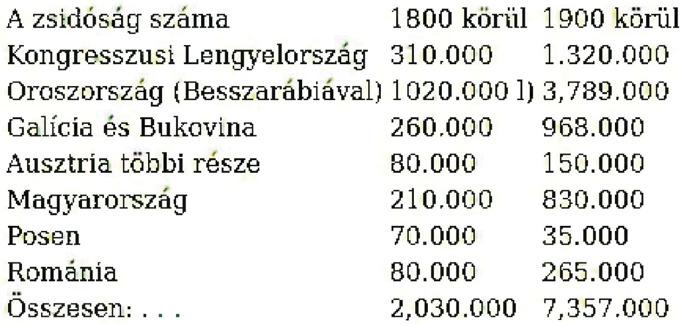
The Jews in Hungary in the 19th century.

In the first half of the 19th century, in the reform era, at the same time as liberal ideas were taking hold in Hungary, the Jewish question also became a full-fledged issue in our country. Taking full advantage of the opportunities for movement and assertion offered by Joseph II, the Jews played an increasingly important role in the economic life of the country. Joseph II was particularly favourable to the Jews, and it is no wonder that Jewish historians always write about him with the greatest enthusiasm:

Joseph II came to the throne in November 1780, and already on 13 May 1781, anticipating the famous decree of toleration, which aroused the enthusiastic gratitude of the non-Catholic Christians of the country, he first poured the warmth of his royal heart on the Jews, who raised their eyes to him from the dark depths of lawlessness.

The Jewish decree of Joseph II obliges Jews to use Hebrew only in their worship services, otherwise they are obliged to use Hungarian, German or Latin in keeping business books and drafting documents. Jews are obliged to set up elementary schools similar to those of Christians everywhere. They are allowed to attend higher schools. The printing and distribution of books in Yiddish and Hebrew (except religious books) will be prohibited. Jewish schools will be under the supervision of the royal school directors. Jews may rent land if they cultivate it themselves. They may settle anywhere except in mining towns. Jewish craftsmen must join guilds as apprentices and work for Christian masters. Tailors, seamstresses, masons, carpenters, carpenters, painters and sculptors are free to practice their trades. They are exempted from wearing distinctive marks, but they must give up wearing beards.

The Hungarian chancellery could not have been too enthusiastic about the Josephine Jewish decrees, because for two years delayed their entry into force. The decrees not only led to a lively movement among the already settled Jews, but also to the attention of the Jews living in crowded and oppressive living conditions in Galicia and Bukovina beyond the Carpathians. So great was this interest that from 1787 to 1825, in less than four decades, the number of Jews more than doubled, from 83,000 to 190,000. The migration of Jews from the neighbouring Austrian provinces continued unabated, with varying degrees of intensity, throughout the 19th century. This, together with natural increase, was one of the main reasons why, as the following figures prove, the increase in the number of Jews in Eastern Europe was the greatest in our country.

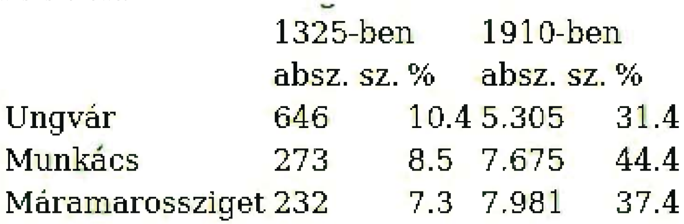


A zsidóság száma	1800 körül	1900 körül
Kongresszusi Lengyelország	310.000	1.320.000
Oroszország (Besszarábiával)	1020.000 1)	3,789.000
Galícia és Bukovina	260.000	968.000
Ausztria többi része	80.000	150.000
Magyarország	210.000	830.000
Posen	70.000	35.000
Románia	80.000	265.000
Összesen: . . .	2,030.000	7,357.000

ıe number of Jews

This surge in the Jewish population came from two sources. First, continuous Jewish immigration and second, natural reproduction on an unprecedented scale. These two factors swelled the masses of Hungarian Jewry in equal measure. The path of immigrant Jewry led through northeastern Hungary. This region was the first stop for the newcomers. Here they got acquainted with the new environment and tried to adapt to the new living conditions. The Carpathian ridge was not a dividing line for the Jews. The same Jewish way of life developed on the southern slopes as had existed for centuries beyond Galicia and Bukovina. First the upper Verhovina came under Jewish occupation, then gradually the line of mass Jewish settlement was drawn lower and lower. Towards the end of the last century, it had reached and even crossed the upper Tisza everywhere. The retreat of the settlement

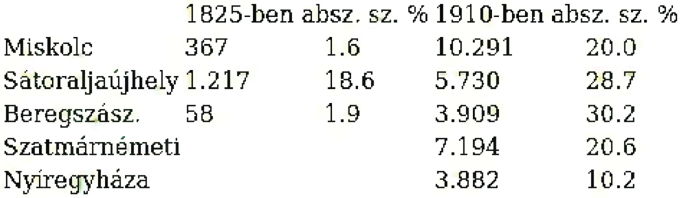
Northeastern Hungary was along three main natural transport routes. Namely, the Uzsok-Ungvár, Verecke-Munkács and Kőrösmező in the direction of Máramarossziget. This is why the proportion of Jews in these three towns was the highest. These towns bore the most visible external signs of gentrification. Apart from the capital, they are home to the largest closed Jewish communities. That is why the similarities between these cities and the between urban ghettos in Galicia and Poland. Here, too, we found crowded, dirty, rubbish-strewn streets, hustle and bustle, noise, crowds and feverish inactivity. Every street is lined with houses of worship, yeshivas and blackberries. And from them comes a rhythmic roar and clamour. In the three cities mentioned, the number of Jews in the last century was as follows:



	1325-ben		1910-ben	
	absz. sz.	%	absz. sz.	%
Ungvár	646	10.4	5.305	31.4
Munkács	273	8.5	7.675	44.4
Máramarossziget	232	7.3	7.981	37.4

The number of Jews

These cities, overcrowded with Jews, either emit swarms of Jews or force the newcomers to settle in towns on the edge of the Lowlands. This is how Sátoraljaújhely, Beregszász, Szatmárnémeti and Nyíregyháza, and later Debrecen, Nagyvárad and Miskolc were invaded. The Jewish settlements in these cities were not far behind the first three in importance, and some of them even surpassed them. Even if the Jewish character of the more inland towns was fainter and more blurred, this was more a matter of the outward appearance of the Jews living there. The Jewish population of the towns on the north-eastern fringe of the Lowlands in the 19th century was as follows:



	1825-ben absz. sz.	%	1910-ben absz. sz.	%
Miskolc	367	1.6	10.291	20.0
Sátoraljaújhely	1.217	18.6	5.730	28.7
Beregszász.	58	1.9	3.909	30.2
Szatmárnémeti			7.194	20.6
Nyíregyháza			3.882	10.2

The number of Jews

From these Jewish centres, there was always an abundance of new Jewish settlers in the most remote corners of the Lowlands and the Highlands.

The speed and size of the growth of the Jewish population alone was sufficient to cause the most serious crises in the economic, social and spiritual life of the country. To make matters worse, almost 99% of Jewish immigrants came from the most dangerous, harmful and intolerable group of Jews, the Ashkenazi, or, wrongly, Oriental Jews. It would go a long way if we were now to enter into an analysis of the racial history of Jewry. We will briefly mention, then, that after the loss of the state and political independence of the Jews, some of them had already been scattered from their homeland to all known lands and countries of the world. It came from the Jewish dispersions to China as well as to Ethiopia and Britain. In the midst of different living conditions and circumstances, cultures and racial influences in different environments, two landscapes of Jewry emerged. The Western, Sephardic and the Eastern, Ashkenazic. Of the two, the former was not only more cultured, but also more unified and harmonious in racial character.

It has preserved an almost pure Semitic and related Mediterranean racial heritage, both in appearance and in spirit. By contrast, Ashkenazi Jewry, as a result of the Jewish masses in Eastern and Central Europe, and of conflicting racial influences and influences, presents a much more confused and disturbing picture. We find side by side pre-Asian and East Asian, Negro and Mongoloid, Semitic and Nordic racial traits. And although these racial elements, which are as a whole distant from each other, have been forced into a closed unity by ethnic and religious affiliation, they have not been, and cannot be, according to our physiological knowledge, fused into a complete racial and blood unity. That is why the European peoples look with such alienation and aversion on Ashkenazi Jewry, in which they instinctively recognise the unnatural bastard. It is in this fact that we may find an explanation for the anti-social, subversive behaviour, its activity to destroy all order, authority and tradition, and herein lies the explanation of the rootlessness of this Jewry. It has nothing to do with the land or the country in which and from which it lives and thrives. And that is why the spokesmen and organisers of theories of social subversion and revolutionary class struggle have almost everywhere emerged from their ranks, but it is also from their ranks that the most cruel and bloodthirsty political mass murderers and economic adventurers of the last decades have emerged from the obscurity of the Eastern Jewish ghettos. With its distorted racial formula and the resulting disruptive political, social and economic activities, the Eastern Jewry inevitably challenged, sometimes more weakly, sometimes more strongly, sometimes openly, sometimes hidden in the unconscious, but always challenging and always keeping alive the hostility and defensive struggle of the peoples who received it.

Apart from the alien racial outward and spiritual attitudes, many other factors contributed to the unbridgeable gap between Ashkenazi Jewry and the host peoples, such as the often senseless and grotesque prohibitions and commandments of the Jewish religion, the cruel and disturbing rituals, the alien ways of religious worship, the incredible number of superstitions and the convulsive adherence to them. Such was the isolating influence of Yiddish, the Jewish language commonly spoken among Ashkenazi Jews. It is, in fact, one of the jargons that Judaism has developed from the language of its host peoples. In fact, it is a matter of the Jewish language-making and language-destroying skills. Such jargon has developed wherever Jews have lived in large numbers among the host peoples. The language of Eastern Jewry was formed from a patchwork of Hebrew, Slavic and medieval Germanic words. We cannot discuss in detail all the manifestations of the particular way of life of Ashkenazi Jewry, but we can mention the preference for crowded, enclosed settlements, the high rate of reproduction, the Talmudic cult, the role of the miracle worker, the rigid isolation from the national aspirations and traditions of the host peoples.

It was this kind of Jewry that for a century kept pouring in in new and new swarms. Our legal and social situation was much more favourable than over there, beyond the Carpathians, and the opportunities for assertion were almost unlimited, so that we were always a great attraction for the neighbouring ghettos of Galicia and Bukovina. Besides, Jews were also attracted to each other. If one or two Jewish families settled in a village, large Jewish colonies soon grew up almost out of the ground. The border was not closed at all. But the landed gentry also played a part in the proliferation of Jewry. In many places, the nobility itself invited and settled the Jews on its estates, because they always provided it with loans, gave advances, bought the crops, the wool on the sheep, the wine on the capital. The house Jews bought everything, sold everything. By their servitude, of course, they greatly facilitated the frivolous spending of the landowners, the indebtedness, so that they themselves, as tenants and then owners, could then get their hands on the property. After the serfdom and then the liberation, the small peasantry could not escape its fate. The rent of the tavern always belonged to the Jews, because they paid the most. The liquor loan, the usury loan, ruined the people of villages, districts and even whole counties. The peasantry of whole regions has become the Jews' robots. Mental dullness, physical deterioration, reduced capacity for work, and a tendency to crime are the result of the blessed work of the Jews in many places. Emigration remains a last resort for the indigenous population. In the beginning, especially until the cities opened their doors to them, the Jews were engaged in trading in agricultural products. Behind their impatient, intrusive competition, the centuries-old trading order of Hungarians, Greeks, Germans and Rocci is falling further and further behind. At this time Széchenyi was already scourging the landowning class for its reckless attitude, i.e. for placing itself in the hands of the Jew. Nor does he spare his own classmates, the nobility, "what a pity that they fail in their glorious aim and, to the shame of humanity, are deprived of their most beautiful jewels and are the slaves of vile concubines and moneyed Jews".

The position and role of the Jews in the first half of the last century is interestingly described by an English woman who was with us for a long time at that time, Miss Pardoe. In her travel account of Hungary, she says the following about the Jews:
"The Jews, in view of their large number and the fact that they constitute a significant part of the population, I must deal with in more detail. This scattered people, who regard the great world as their inheritance rather than their country, invading alike the hall of the ruler and the hut of the peasant, are, within the framework of every nation, engaged in a stubborn and earnest struggle against the principle that man cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. These Jews have from time to time come to play a prominent part among the Hungarians.

Physically, Hungarian Jews bear little resemblance to their brethren in southern Europe. Their faces are more Italian than Jewish, their features less prominent and less sharply cut than we have come to expect elsewhere.

used to. In our country we can immediately conclude that we are dealing with Israel's outcasts, but this is far from being the case in Hungary. It is more by their peculiar way of walking, from which the Jew can never completely escape, than by their appearance that they can be recognised here.

There is not a single Jewish colony in Hungary that is completely pure. Here, as elsewhere, they are scattered throughout the country in towns and villages. Their number in 1785 was only 75,098, but in 20 years it has increased to 127,816, that is, in this comparatively short time it has increased by 52,727, more than the whole number by two-thirds. According to the statistical work of Chaplovich, published in 1829, their number reached 165,777 in that time, a very large number. They have 342 synagogues and as many rabbis in the country.

At present, Hungarian Jews were only tolerated, but even for this they had to pay a fee to the government, which until 1806 amounted to only 80,000 silver forints. From that year, however, it rose to 120,000 until 1816, and then to 160,000. This is the amount paid today. Jews are not allowed to own real estate or hold public office. Despite this, however, they must serve in the army, which they are most reluctant to do.

The better part of the community is made up of merchants. Some of these families have converted to Christianity, have acquired nobility, and thus enjoy all the privileges of the favoured classes, but, apart from their money, their social position is far from enviable.

The Jews of the lower classes, scattered throughout the country, are engaged in three trades: either distillers, or liquor merchants, or squidmakers, who buy up every imaginable article of food, and in their dealings generally cheat the poor peasant. The poorer classes of Jews who live in the city either go about as porters, or follow the particularly favoured Hebrew occupation of cloth-weaving, in which capacity they not only go about from one city to another, but from one to another.

Several counties, especially Pest County, have instructed their representatives to advocate the emancipation of the Jews on the present diet, but until now, disputes over more serious issues have prevented both houses from discussing the matter. It is probable that, if their case should come before the House, the Lower House might embrace their cause, and the Upper House would reject the corresponding proposition."

Miss Pardoe's travelogue of Hungary was published in London in 1840. The debates on her diets that she mentions did indeed take place and she correctly foresaw that the Estates-General would reject the emancipation proposal. Although at that time the Jews already had very respectable supporters in the persons of Baron Eötvös, Gábor Klauzál and Beöthy.

At the same time, however, there is growing unrest among the bourgeoisie and serfs, as well as among the gentry, and a growing antipathy towards the Jews. Even people such as Sándor Petőfi, who was politically in favour of the emancipation of the Jews, could not conceal their negative opinion of the Jews. In his travel letters he wrote, among other things. From Munkács, a Munkács from Munkács, a Munkács from Munkács, a Munkács from Munkács. It has many churches, a county house and a Hungarian skater, which is a great consolation when you have been rolling around in a Jewish tavern for three days. Without boasting, I am one of the greatest philanthropists, and I respect and esteem the Jews, but I would have them chased the hell out of the tavern, for what is ugly is ugly, in vain.

There are also many complaints against the Jews in the county assemblies. Kölcsey's appearance is generally known. He said in one of his speeches to the county assembly that the distillation of brandy was now in the hands of the Jews alone, and that they were collecting twice as much of the public tax as the population, and that the taverns, which carried on our whole brandy and wine trade, were in the hands of Jews. There can be no more pernicious source of poverty to the tax-paying people than the conspicuous increase of the Jews. It is not to a small and poor status that the Jew belongs, but to a great and rich one. At the beginning of the forties, the Jewish question was a preoccupation of cities and counties alike. Kassa expels the Jews. Eger demands a tax from them. Bratislava only allows them to settle in one place. Losonc expels them. Ugocsa complains that they are ruining the people. In most of the dispatches, the Jewish question is also mentioned. In most cases, the counties warn their envoys against careless indulgence. The two camps on the diet, those for and against the extension of the law, are equally strong. From

the former, as mentioned above. Klauzál and Beöthy, the latter led by Komlótsy, Zsedényi and Lónyay. Step by step, however, the Jews managed to obtain more and more concessions. These concessions do not reflect the mood and will of the country, but the opinion and will of a section of the envoys in Bratislava who were enthusiastic about liberal doctrines. Full emancipation, although two attempts were made in 1848-49, has not yet been achieved. However, the dissenting voices have become increasingly muted. Only Széchenyi, even in his solitude in Döbling, was tormented by the dark concern of the proliferation of Jewry. Through the intercession of Jewish bankers and capitalists in Vienna, the legal and economic situation of the Jews gradually improved during the period of absolutism. After the restoration of constitutionalism, the Eötvös Andrássy government made the emancipation of the Jews one of its first tasks. However, the law on the emancipation of the Jews was an empty piece of legislation and was more of a moral success for the Jews. Much more important for the Jews was the introduction of full and unrestricted trade, the abolition of the law prohibiting usury, and the development of our entire legal system according to the Jewish liberal conception. At that time, only the pronouncements of the liberal political and economic authorities counted in our country, and no one cared about the interests, welfare and future of the country and of working society. Besides, politics and economics would soon meet. One after another, Jewish banks, financial institutions and large corporations would invite MPs and former ministers to sit on their boards. An intimate and inextricable, ever deepening link is being forged between Jewish capitalism and the liberal political system. This alliance of interests easily suppresses all Jewish voices of criticism. Boldizsár Horváth, for example, resigning from the Ministry of Justice, becomes chairman of the Land Loan Shareholders' Association, where, in addition to his apprenticeship, he receives a salary of 12,000 forints a year and 2,000 forints rent, and soon afterwards is elected to the board of directors of a whole series of Jewish-founded companies and railway companies. The same Boldizsár Horváth was the author of the XXXI. t.c. of 1868, which abolished the usury law. As to why this was done, one of the keen-eyed observers and outspoken public writers of the period answers as follows:
"It is a popular zeitgeist, a sign of enlightenment, an axiom at the heights of national economics and jurisprudence that usury laws are obsolete and a defeated aspect. Hungary is a "cultural state" and therefore cannot tolerate usury laws. That the usury laws have only recently been reinstated in most of the United States of America, that they are being upheld, is one of the greatest national economists of our time. Carey, in America, is fighting vigorously and successfully: the misericordian does not know that. That specialiter in most of our country the XXXI.
3.§ how much the average rate of interest has risen, and that the people of the land are systematically plundered and expropriated from here and there by the Jewish usurers, that the Jew will one day replace the former noble landlord as the owner of the former serf estate, and that the freed peasant will cultivate his sold lands as the day labourer or tenant of the Jew: the misericordianus does not know. If he knew, his heart might ache... but still he would not dare to speak out for the restoration of the usury law, because the main characteristic of the misecricordian status men is cowardice trembling before unpopularity." (Kákay-Aranyos, Light and Shadows.)

To illustrate what the abolition of the usury law, the Jewish fever of founding and the then fashionable liberal politics, brought about in the decade or two following the Compromise, we must here file a few contemporary records and data suitable for characterizing these conditions. For example, in the county of Trenèín, in 1880, one third of all Virilists were Jews. The list of Jewish virilisers begins with the names of Lipót Popper, Jakab Schlesinger, Samu Pollák, Salamon Taubner. Roth Jakab, Schlesinger Ármin, Grün Károly, Kuffler Rezső. Singer Jakab, Roth Salamon, Roth Márk, Kuffler Dávid, Altmnnn Jakab, Schlesinger Salamon, Bauer Lipót. Grosz József, Krausz Salamon, Engel Mór, Schlésinger Samu, Eichenbaum Illés etc.

"Whoever wants to be convinced that the sons of Israel do indeed regard the whole world as their own and the gentile possessors as mere usurpers, should come to Bereg County: as soon as he sees the Jews here engaged in the slaughter of their own kind, he will not have the slightest doubt that this is indeed a fundamental doctrine of Judaism... As long as there was no Jewish emancipation, the Christians could, to some extent, counteract the all-absorbing ambition of Jewry, and the law was of help to them; but now that the Jew is endowed with all the rights of the Christian, the latter must inevitably perish. One of the most characteristic forms of Jewish extermination in this country is the half-cattle herding. The essence of this is as follows. The calf is valued for what it is worth, then given to some poor man to raise, and when the calf is grown, it is sold. The owner takes out of the money received the price at which the calf was valued when it was handed over for rearing. The owner splits the surplus with the breeder. The owners are almost exclusively Jewish. They use this custom to keep their money safe and earn a handsome return. A Jew at the fair buys, for example a pair of bulls for sixty forints, gives them to the poor man for his education, and at the same time lends him twenty forints, at forty per cent, of course. The bulls increase, but so does the Jew's interest. In the meantime the Jew gives such a man brandy, shoes, tobacco, bocskor, and other such things. After three years, they sell the bull and get two hundred forints for it. The Jew takes sixty forints out of this sum, and the one hundred and forty forints is halved. The poor man would get seventy forints, but the twenty forints he received when he took over the bulls, plus three years' interest, salt, tobacco, brandy, bocskor, etc., adds up to eighty forints, so the poor man still owes ten forints." so writes an anonymous chronicler from Bereg.

The situation is similar in the whole of the Highlands. It is true that a more intelligent and cultivated people cannot be so easily taken by the Jews as our simple-minded people. But we should strive to remove ourselves from the influence of this poor people. Success is the great master. And the Jew, being indiscriminate in his means, succeeds in many things. He has a very broad conscience, and to deceive a Christian, or to perjure oneself, even in a court of law, is a virtue, not a crime. Take the frequent arson, which in our country is almost exclusively Jewish. It is an everyday thing, which the Jewish tenant hardly conceals, that if his crop is bad or weedy, he secures it in a barn and sets it on fire, so that he can sell his produce well without any trouble. If a farmer hears that his Jewish neighbour has insured his buildings, he is desperate, he is afraid when he will burn them down. Imagine the effect on an uneducated people when they see that such things always succeed.

None of the farmers dare to give them up, for fear that the Jew will burn down the house of the denouncer in revenge. It is commonplace for Jews in Krajnya to set fire to a house in revenge. In this region, not only the innkeeper but also the landlord are all Jews. If the landlord wants to evict his Jewish tenant for any reason, he rarely succeeds.
Once a Jew has settled in an estate or a tavern, he has the right, if the landlord evicts him, to keep his tavern or estate, because he will get no other tenant. It happened here that a landlord legally evicted his pub tenant because he had not paid his rent properly. He brought a landlord from further afield who paid a much higher rent. The new innkeeper was also Jewish. However, the Jews in the village banned him from their prayer house and even pushed him out by force. When the matter came before the rabbi, he ordered the new tenant to pay the old one thirty forints a year. Now, unfortunately, emigration to America is on the agenda. Mendel, the innkeeper, lends the money for this too. He assures the people that they will earn a lot of money if they go to America. To get to America, a poor worker needs seventy-five forints. Mendel lends it to him, so that after a year he will receive one hundred and thirty-two forints. But he also mortgages half the land, and if the debtor doesn't pay, the Jew gets the land. The fence is also Jewish. Petty theft is the order of the day. And everything goes to the tavern, everything can be exchanged for brandy. It is evident that the Jew teaches the unfortunate, still uneducated people all the evils, makes them rotten, teaches them to steal, to set fire to things, and in every way prevents them from becoming prosperous. Most of the complaints are about usury.
A letter describes the situation in the Ungmies as follows. The picture of our county, although we are quite well off in the matter of crops, is sad, because the rich harvest is only for the Jew, there being hardly a man in the county from the last day labourer up to the most noble, who is not a debtor, but the debtors are all debtors to the Jew, because even if there is one among a thousand Christians who can lend a few forints, he lends it only to the Jew, and the Jew, however rich, still borrows and lends the 15%, but only in small amounts and for three weeks. And even after 15 forints, the interest is 5 forints for three weeks and once for wood from the forest, which is one forint, so for three weeks the interest is six forints, so two forints per week, or 104 forints for a year.

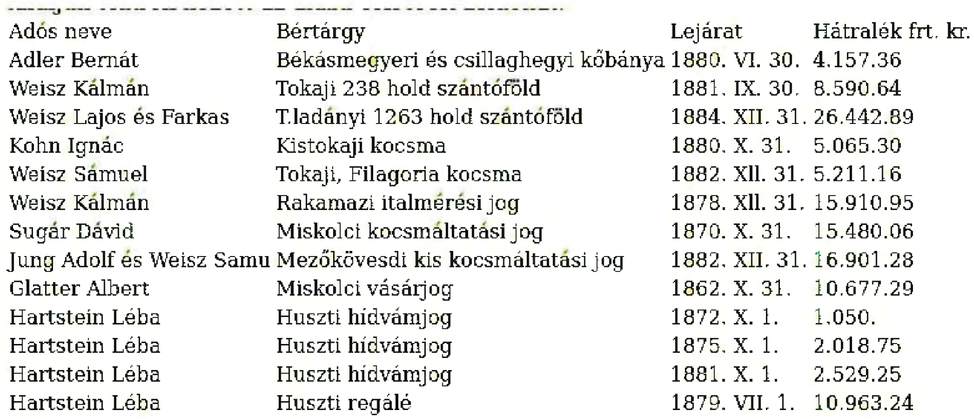
Of course, such a loan, if the debtor needs it more than once, will ruin him in a few years.

The situation is no better in the cities. In Eger, where forty years ago there were no Jews living, what results can we see today? writes Gyula Kelemen, a citizen of Eger. All the trade is exclusively in their hands and all the products of all our products pass exclusively through their hands. After his settlement in Eger, the firm of S. J. destroyed the formerly flourishing timar industry, and the same firm then took over the milling industry and thus became master of the whole wheat and flour trade. The leather and poster trades, all the bootmakers and shoemakers, tailors, hatters and milliners were made slaves of the Jews, and the plank merchants the carpenter's trade. So industry and commerce, like the market for raw materials, like the money market, are now dominated exclusively by the Jews. In order to make as large a turnover as possible, the Jewish merchants easily lent money to the poorest industrialist. Ezek a kis iparosok a sok könnyelmû adósság nyomán, valósággal a zsidók fejõstehenévé lettek s míg harminc évvel ezelõtt a kalapos, szabó, shoemakers and shoemakers were the bulk of the wealthy middle classes, today they are more miserable than the day labourers. In Eger, the old wealthy middle class is no more. The Jewish domination has buried it under its own shadow.

The conditions in the Mountain Valley must have been unbearable in the seventies and eighties. At least the picture painted by the anonymous contemporary suggests this. Nowhere else can one find so many Jewish parasites and so much intolerable Jewish domination as in the Mountain Valley, he writes in his introduction. The villages of the region are infested by 11,000 Jews living among 43,000 Christians. The Jews have already destroyed the people morally and financially. Of Tolchva's population of three thousand, one thousand are Jews. So many parasitic plants certainly need a lot of vital fluid, but they know how to suck it out. It being a wine-growing region, the Jew, in order to win over the workers, made them drink brandy. The physical and spiritual effects of drinking brandy on the people are hard to describe. If you walk down the street of a town in the valley of the mountains, you see a stunted, yellow-faced, stunted, coughing young man with death in his eyes. That's how they conquer their children from the breast up. Unless the needle-drinking liquor is curbed, the hill people will be extinct in a few decades. The Jews, who are constantly multiplying through emigration, must also be provided with housing. They simply help the cause. They sue the Christian debtor whose loan of ten forints has grown to three hundred forints in a year and a half. They beat the drum on his house, and at the auction, the Jews, who had got together, bought the house, which was valued at six hundred forints, for fifty forints. The whole magistrate of the town of Tolchva, from the judge downwards (except perhaps the notary), is a Jew.

Finally, let's take a look at the two Jewish centres of North-Eastern Hungary, Uzhhorod and Mukachevo, from where newly arrived Jewish immigrants set out on their conquest after a short period of experience and orientation.
In Hungary there are two stations of the Semitic camp, from which they migrate on foot or by cart, but mostly in good manner, to other, naturally more fertile regions of our dear country, like locusts from the devastated countryside. The first station is called Mukachevo, the second Ungvár. The two cities are closely connected.
They form a suburb and a suburb of each other, together they make a whole. Mukachevo is the poorest of the Semites, from where the more talented Semites migrate to Uzhhorod to learn the trappings of cosmopolitanism, Uzhhorod contains the aristocracy of Semitism. For Hungarians, Munkács, a place of historical memory, has become the scene of a sad migration of people. From Poland, the two-legged locusts in caftans and pashlias swarm in from across the Verecké Strait. The once-wealthy city of Mukachevo has not seen the light of day because of this swarm of locusts. There is no remedy for these parasites, they multiply without recourse to the law of nationality. The primitive element is leaving its native land, for it has no security of existence. Let any man walk through Mukachevo on a Saturday or at a fair, and if he has a grain of patriotism in him, he will be saddened, for he will meet a Jew at every turn. At the fair in Munkács or in Uzhhorod, anyone can learn the way to go from poverty to riches. Real estate in Ung County is already mortgaged by four million for the benefit of the Semites.

Typical of the Jewish friendliness of the official government position is the fact that most of the state land is in the hands of Jewish tenants. Most of them are in the hands of Jewish tenants who do not want to pay. According to an official statement, in 1885, among those in arrears of over 1000 forints arising from the management of agricultural state property in the countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown, we find the Jews listed below:



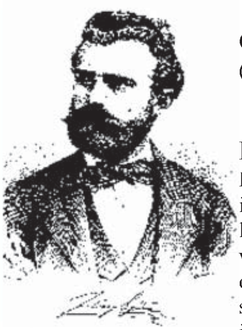
Adós neve	Bértárgy	Lejárat	Hátralék frt. kr.
Adler Bernát	Békásmegyeri és csillaghegyi kőbánya	1880. VI. 30.	4.157.36
Weisz Kálmán	Tokaji 238 hold szántóföld	1881. IX. 30.	8.590.64
Weisz Lajos és Farkas	T.ladányi 1263 hold szántóföld	1884. XII. 31.	26.442.89
Kohn Ignác	Kistokaji kocsma	1880. X. 31.	5.065.30
Weisz Sámuel	Tokaji, Filagoria kocsma	1882. XII. 31.	5.211.16
Weisz Kálmán	Rakamazi italmérési jog	1878. XII. 31.	15.910.95
Sugár Dávid	Miskolci kocsmáltatási jog	1870. X. 31.	15.480.06
Jung Adolf és Weisz Samu	Mezőkövesdi kis kocsmáltatási jog	1882. XII. 31.	16.901.28
Glatter Albert	Miskolci vásárjog	1862. X. 31.	10.677.29
Hartstein Léba	Huszti hídvámjog	1872. X. 1.	1.050.
Hartstein Léba	Huszti hídvámjog	1875. X. 1.	2.018.75
Hartstein Léba	Huszti hídvámjog	1881. X. 1.	2.529.25
Hartstein Léba	Huszti regálé	1879. VII. 1.	10.963.24

Jews

Behind these numbers and figures lies a particular form of Jewish parasitism. The Jews obviously, when issuing state licences (land leases, pub rights, regalia, bridge tolls, etc.), they offer a higher wage than everyone else, in order to obtain the lease or licence without fail. They offer high rents with a clear conscience, because they anticipate that they will not pay when they expire. They squeeze the highest possible income out of the lease or driving licence, if they have managed to obtain it. At the expiry of the licence, they fail to pay, go bankrupt or simply leave the lease without paying. In doing so, they squeeze out of leases and licenses non-Jews who cannot compete with Jews in offering rents because they base their calculations on the exact payment of rent.

But it was not just the economic life of the country that was being swamped by Jews. As their wealth grew stronger and their popular power in the cities increased rapidly, they also played an increasingly important role in the country's intellectual life. Initially, the Jews, who adhered to the German Yiddish language and traditions, had a distinct intellectual and cultural life. Heine and then Björne's German Jewry is the ideal to which this half-Jewish culture is aligned. German Yiddish is used in family and social life. This distinctive German Yiddish-Hebrew Jewish cultural mixture continues to flourish undisturbed, and even flourishes under absolutism. In the 1950s, in 1885, the Jewish merchant association Lloyd founded a newspaper, Pester Lloyd. This newspaper became the mouthpiece of Jewish political aspirations and power dreams in Hungary for decades. The first editor of the paper was Weisz, the brother of the director of the Lloyd Society. After him, Miksa Fáik took over the editorship. In addition to the emancipation of Jews, Lloyd successfully fought for other Jewish interests, such as the abolition of the usury law and the guild system. The complete and utter Jewish character of the paper was also expressed in the fact that it pushed every Jewish cause, however small and insignificant, to the fore, and attacked mercilessly anything that could harm the Jews. Lloyd later became very widespread at home and abroad. His bias went so far that at one time he refused to hear of any other public figure, at home or abroad, as a Jew. Within a few short years, other Hungarian newspapers were completely flooded with Jews. "Today at least eighty per cent of Hungarian newspapers are printed by Jews, and we have reached the point where practically no paper dares to publish an article that the Jews don't like," writes a perceptive observer of the time. The P. L., moreover, was soon to become the link between Austria and Hungary. Its task would be to inform the outside world, above all Austria and the German Empire, of Hungarian conditions and political aspirations. At home, he worked with all his might for the advance of Jewish capitalism. At first, it was the exclusive newspaper of Jewish wholesalers and stockbrokers. Accordingly, it was always in the leading position for the exchange news. Just as events at home are discussed from the Jewish perspective, so the foreign news is filtered through Jewish interests. After the Reconciliation, by the way, there is a rapid and interesting change in the attitude of a large part of Jewry. There were, of course, understandable reasons for this sudden change. Assimilation fever took hold among broad sections of Jewry. The mass name-cleansing is one of the most tangible signs of this. This endeavour is not generally to be condemned, writes the 12 pamphlets, but it is reprehensible that the government should allow meanwhile, meanwhile, vile Jews, who only a short time before were trading in rabbit skins, take the names of old noble families. If someone no longer considers the names Itzeles or Jajteles to be respectable and changes them to Itzeházy or Teleszky, or if someone changes Naschl to Csemegi, Rosenthal to Rózsavölgyi, Adelsberg to Nemeshegyi, Goldenstern to Aranyosi, no one can object to that, because these are quite simply translations of Jewish names. But the Jewish character is already recognizable at 50 steps. If, however, it is allowed that vile usurious Jews take the names of old Hungarian noble families and dirty, shopkeeper Jews take the names of Atzél, Andrássy, Rákóczy, etc., and with the permission of the government, namely the Prime Minister, this is unpardonable recklessness and negligence worthy of punishment. Another sign of the assimilationist intention is that Jews are abandoning the German Yiddish jargon and a Yiddish-Hebrew, German-Hungarian jargon, a mixture of Yiddish-Hebrew and German-Hungarian words, known for its singing accent, is emerging among the Jews of the larger cities, especially Budapest, and is full of Germanisms. When the Jews become prominent in the press and literature, this Jewish jargon becomes a literary language and style. The Hungarian-language press also gradually becomes saturated with Jews. With the penetration of Jewry, of course, comes a new spirit, a new morality and a whole new trend. In the eighties, Jews also entered the university cathedrals. They are particularly noticeable among the medical faculty, where they are numerous. For decades, a Jewish professor named Kleinmann-Karmán was the supreme leader of education, and a Jew named Zsigmond Steiner-Simonyi played a leading role in Hungarian linguistics.

A pseudo-Hungarian culture with a Jewish flavour and Jewish colour is flourishing here in such a dense, impenetrable culture that the true Hungarian spirituality, pure and simple, is slowly taking on a secondary role. This was more or less the situation in Hungary in the 1980s, when the first representative of Hungarian political anti-Semitism and Hungarian racial protection launched the struggle for the vital interests of Hungarians.



Győző Istóczy

(1842-1915.)

Pan-Judaism, anti-Judaism

Eight years had already passed since, at the end of December 1867, in a few days, with incomprehensible speed and almost without any debate, both houses of the Hungarian legislature had passed the bill on the equal rights of the Jews. Ferenc Deák and Kálmán Tisza were the main promoters of the new law. And although Deák repeatedly stressed that he could only envisage the equal rights of Jews if immigration and naturalisation were regulated at the same time, the law on the equal rights of Jews was now passed without the two important issues mentioned above being regulated. On emancipation was a surprise when it was tabled and put on the agenda. It is true that Prime Minister Andrássy had promised the Jewish delegation he was visiting the enactment of the enactment of the Equal Rights Act, but he did not encourage the idea of a near date and referred to the interests and feelings of Christian society as also having to be taken into account. Yet the proposal has now unexpectedly come before the legislature. We do not know exactly what the final reason was for this speed, but the visit to Budapest of Moses Montefiore, one of the best-known leaders of the international Jewish organisations at the time, and his negotiations with Andrássy and Eötvös must have contributed in no small measure to the rapid implementation of the emancipation. The liberal public opinion of the time, which held sway over all political parties, both the Deák constitutional party and the opposition party of the Tisza Kálmáns, saw in the equal rights movement only the fulfilment of the sacred ideals of humanism, brotherhood and equality. Besides, Deák and Kálmán Tisza were such great authorities in their own party at the time that their position excluded any dissent. And the dominance of liberal slogans and ideas was so general and all-powerful that they stifled all sensible and instinctive protests of national self-defence. No one had the courage to speak out against the new law, or at least to point out the danger that might be expected. No one wanted to recall the courageous anti-Jewish speeches made at the Diets of Bratislava and Pest twenty or twenty-five years before.

It was only a few years after the enfranchisement that the uninhibited push of Jewry towards power was in full swing. The first Jews were elected to the Hungarian legislature, were given a place in the state administration, occupied leading positions in the ministries, and their numbers in universities and secondary schools skyrocketed. All these are ominous signs of the expected general rush to conquer the country's material and intellectual possessions. But the Jews are also taking their seats in the university cathedrals and the academy, and are taking possession of the country's economic wealth, values and institutions almost overnight. One by one, the gentile companies and economic institutions founded in the 1930s and 1940s are being taken over by Jews. At the beginning of the 1970s, a frenzy of economic start-ups began in our country, following the example of Western Europe. Loud appeals enticed the little people to subscribe to shares, and they bought worthless paper by the hundreds and thousands. Companies were formed, with elegantly furnished offices to deceive unsuspecting and uninformed share subscribers, without any serious business purpose, solely to raise share capital. In 1873-74, during the European economic crisis, these newly founded, eye-catching Jewish companies failed one after the other, and with them the fortunes of tens of thousands of small people were lost. Partly this crisis process, partly the growing influx of Eastern Jewry into the country and the resulting socio-economic disintegration, slowly turned attention towards the Jews. In political life and in the press, there is as yet not a single word of protest, and even politicians and journalists known for their anti-Jewish sentiments are trying to persuade the masses to change their views.

With apparently little result. Official government policy is, of course, decidedly pro-Jewish. It regards the Jewish question as completely settled with the equalisation of rights, which it no longer wants to hear about. It wants to see in the Jews only a religious sect and rejoices in the Hungarianisation of the Jewish people. It is in close and intimate contact with the newly established Jewish capitalism in Hungary and, through it, with the Jewish finance capital in Vienna and Western Europe. This Jewish capitalism not only assists in its permanent financial embarrassments by loans, which, by the way, prove to be the best investments of capital, but also effectively assists in its political actions (elections, etc.).

It was under these circumstances and in this atmosphere that Győző Istóczy's speech to Parliament on 8 April 1875 marked the beginning of Hungarian political anti-Semitism. Although Istóczy was a member of the Deák Party, which was behind the government, his speech was a harsh criticism of the government's attitude towards the Jews. He openly points out the consequences of emancipation and urges action against the Jews, and the much promised and always failed regulation of immigration and naturalisation. In his speech, Istóczy was in fact addressing an anti-Semitic mood that was already evident everywhere in the country. Although he was careful to avoid any passion in his speech, striving for pure objectivity, there was still a smouldering excitement, a latent tension behind his words. His presentation shows a careful, logical structure, a convincing grouping of arguments.

When Istóczy made his first speech, he was obviously already taking stock of himself. He understood the importance of his role and was aware of the responsibility he had taken on. His first position had been the result of a long internal struggle, and he knew very well what he was undertaking. He was determined to go to the very end, he felt that from that day onwards a whole world of unquenchable hatred and vengeance had been unleashed on him, but he took on his role. He was not guided in this step by a desire for easy and cheap popularity or for quick success. On the contrary, he was the object of a burning and passionate hatred in the eyes of the Jews, but he was also the object of more derision and belittlement from the other side. But his inner fever of commitment, his faith and his will forced him to stand by his principles and ideals. For him, these are not the results of momentary fervour, of fleeting enthusiasm. His political objectives are not just slogans, not mere programme points, but life goals that are fulfilling in their entirety.

His anti-Judaism, which he actually outlined in this first speech, is the result of much reflection and deep thought. It was shaped both by his own direct experience and observations and by the changes that actually took place in the social and economic life of the country after the emancipation. As a thorough and profound individual, Istóczy was well acquainted with all the anti-Semitic literature of his time, both German and French, and studied the history, religion, traditions, customs and spirit of the Jews. All these factors combined to shape his views on Judaism and the Jewish question. The clarity with which Istóczy understood the essence of Judaism and the only correct way of resolving the Jewish question is demonstrated by the fact that what he said about it sixty-six years ago is still true almost word for word today. His anti-Judaism, from its very first formulation, is clear, lucid, concise and up-to-date. Over the long years, his views on the Jews may have deepened in detail, but in principle they have not changed much. With his first speech, Istóczy became the instigator of a struggle in Hungary that lasted more than half a century, while at the same time contributing greatly to the strengthening of the German and Austrian anti-Semitic movements. The Stöckers' and Försters' organising in Berlin and the Pattays' in Vienna was at that time more limited to the social sphere, moving within the framework of associations. Istóczy's first speech in parliament had a much greater resonance in the German Reich and in Austria than at home. At home, Istóczy was still quite alone at the time, and only a small circle of friends really understood him. In Germany and Austria, however, society was already prepared to accept new ideas.

He bases his opinion on a clear and precise definition of the essence of Judaism. Judaism is not a religious sect, he asserts, and in so doing he has already most emphatically contradicted the official liberal public opinion of his time. What, then, is Judaism? he asks. It is a blood-race, a separate race, stiffened for thousands of years, with fixed Jaji characteristics, but with different morals, national traditions and a peculiar way of life which set it quite apart from the other European peoples. They are isolated and alienated by erecting partitions that cannot be demolished. This parasitic way of life is one of the most characteristic features of the Jewish people, who arrogantly like to think of themselves as the fermenting leaven of civilised society, whereas they are more like the parasitic plant known in botanical language as cuseiite, which, unable to exist by itself, feeds on opinions until it destroys them'. Istóczy relentlessly exposes the many manifestations of this parasitism and paints a bleak and disconsolate picture of its consequences. He identifies the distinctive features of Judaism as a distinct ethnic group, its social and moral ideals and laws, which are in stark contrast to the perceptions of other peoples. He points out the biological distinctiveness of the Jewish people. It rejects in the strongest terms the idea of any blood relationship with the Jews, a race which has preserved its complete isolation and purity of blood, its original way of thinking, its world outlook, its customs, through centuries of complete freedom, oppression and persecution, its state of being together in the state and its dispersion throughout the world.... whose sense of commonality has not only not diminished since emancipation, but has even risen, in spite of appearances, with the exertion of the power of caste... the possible assimilation of that element is nothing but a naipium desiderium or a ridiculous utopia. He analyses in detail the deformed physical and mental constitution, the social role and the nation-destroying work of the Jews, these hybrids of the race.

By their racial make-up, their spiritual constitution, their social conduct, he rightly classifies them as Jews; he is the first to use the term and expression "Jewish relatives", and he refers at once to their harmful and dangerous influence; they are the link between Jewish and Gentile society, and are the pioneers of the new Jewish expansion everywhere. Istóczy also has an excellent knowledge of the inner life of the Jews. He sees the various social and religious aspirations within Judaism. He aptly observes that these do not oppose each other, but complement each other and serve together the eternal and ultimate Jewish interests and aims. "Orthodox and neologues, these two opposing shades, are like two intersecting branches of a pair of scissors, whose starting point and aim are the same, and which, the more the more they seem to break against one another, the more our necks feel their edges. The Orthodox, as the faithful custodians of ancient Jewish traditions, ensure that Judaism continues to exist in its original form and in all its purity. By perpetuating their rigid customs, which are offensive to the alien elements, they ensure that the partition which the Jews have from time immemorial drawn between themselves and the alien elements will not only keep them at a distance in the future, but will also keep permanent the antagonism and antipathy thus artificially cultivated between the two elements, which are the main guarantee of their isolation." The aim of Orthodoxy is thus to preserve and preserve within Judaism the religious and national traditions of thousands of years and to ensure their popular propagation. In contrast, the task of neo-Jewishness is to adapt to the social and national customs of the host peoples and to move to the forefront of political and economic life. The two types of Jew, the two forms of Jewish community, thus complement each other in the service of the same goal.

Istóczy was in no doubt as to the fate that awaited the Hungarians if they did not defend themselves against the invasion of the living. He knew very well that the Hungarians would have to be content with a second-rate, subordinate role in their own homeland.
He was aware of the fact that the increase in Jewish expansion was accompanied by a process in the opposite direction, the downward slide of the Hungarian nation. Since the Jewish question has its political, social and economic aspects, if we want to defend ourselves effectively against Jewry, we must fight it on all fronts. It is the task of the legislature to enact the laws which will provide the legal basis for this struggle. It is the duty of society to bring its own organised strength to bear and enforce the dead letter of its paragraphs. Among the social classes, there is much talk of the aristocracy, of the proletariat, but of only one stratum, of only one caste, is there ever a single word: the Jew. And yet there has never been a more closed, more alien, more intertwined, more unified caste, and it is time to talk about this caste at last. Among the many social phenomena, such as social democracy, plutocracy, & liberalism, we must not overlook a new and no less characteristic governing and dominant idea and aspiration of the 19th century, namely that which we may call, briefly and simply, Judaism. What is this new idea, this new thought? It is closely related to liberalism, it grew out of it, it developed it. Its essence and its bearer is Jewry, the Jewry that has been liberated from the ghetto and has been dispersed.

Judaism itself is a millennia-old problem, as old as Judaism itself. It has confronted the natives of Canaan, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germanic peoples, the Spaniards, the peoples of the new age, the 19th and 20th centuries alike. His doctrines, ideas and principles are found in the folios of the Torah and Talmud, in rabbinic literature, in the writings of Majmonides, Disraeli, Herzl and other political, popular and intellectual leaders of Judaism. The main political and social organisation of Judaism is Freemasonry and international capitalism. The ideals, traditions and aims of this are prevalent in modern capitalism, Marxism, Jewish spiritual movements and scientific theories. Judaism prevails and is effective wherever Jews live. Judaism, as a way of life, a principle, a world view and a programme, is exclusively Jewish, but the host peoples cannot escape its influence. However, while for the Jews Judaism is the essence of their existence and life, their past, present and future, for the host peoples it means disaffection, internal disintegration, decay, moral and social confusion, and therefore danger of ruin and destruction. As long as the Jews were confined to ghettos and Judaism was restricted to a narrow circle, the existence and security of the host peoples were not threatened. After the ghettoization ended, Jews were dispersed to towns and villages, embraced by middle class, bourgeoisie and aristocracy alike. And the Jews themselves, instead of integrating themselves into the social, political, social and economic framework of the nations and being content with the role which their numbers, strength and labour had given them, and dizzy with the vast opportunities which opened up before them, with the unlimited prospects of assertion, gave free rein to their latent, hitherto repressed racial energies, and pushed forward at a furious pace, indiscriminate in means and methods. Leaving the ghetto, Jews now want to see themselves in the orbit of power. Jewry now felt that the promises contained in the sacred texts, foretold in the writings of the prophets and the holy rabbis and hitherto only hidden away in the twilight of prayer houses and synagogues, murmured with stubborn persistence for centuries, were nearing fulfilment. This is what the vast majority of Jews have consciously believed or unconsciously felt. The Judaism of ghetto Jewry has become the pan-Judaism of emancipated Jewry. This obsession was increasingly the obsession of nineteenth century Jewry. Its proponents were Heine, Disraeli, Marx and Rothschild.

Pan-Judaism revives the millennial covenant of election and the promise of world domination. On this one issue, putting aside all differences, Orthodox, neologists, Zionists, Assimilationists, believers and atheists, socialists and capitalists, all agree. Pan-Judaism has stirred up Jewish passions and scalded Jewish fantasies, from the cramped alleys of the Russian and Polish ghettos to the banking palaces of the City and Wall Street. Pan-Judaism became a world-conquering force and power. Wars and peace, crises and revolutions have been born of its will. Pan-Judaism is, in fact, the embodiment of a particular form of Jewish imperialism. It, like all imperialism, seeks to conquer, seeks power. But it wants to extend its domination, as it has been promised, not only in its own ethnic areas, but far beyond them, to countries, continents and even the whole world. Jewish imperialism, in accordance with the racial character of the Jews, seeks first and foremost not territorial, military domination, but economic and spiritual domination. The leaders of Jewish imperialism know very well that a people which has lost its material possessions, its land, its houses, its estates, its mines, its factories, which has lost its spirit, its faith, its national genius, is already considered conquered, even if it has maintained its apparent political independence and autonomy. The weapons of Jewish imperialism are therefore not the rifle, the tank, the aeroplane, but the newspaper, the film, the theatre, the stock exchange, the stationary and the mobile capital. It is this pan-Judaism that went on a conquering campaign against Hungary after the emancipation. It was against this that Győző Istóczy proclaimed the resistance and the struggle in the 1970s. His political and intellectual struggle against pan-Judaism is aptly called anti-Judaism. In this way he wanted to emphasise that his sole aim was to fight Judaism. Istóczy was reluctant to use the term anti-Semitism, coined by the German Wilhelm Maar, which was later to cause so much confusion and misunderstanding. Even if the party he formed was known for a time as the Anti-Semitic Party, he used this title only because it was already a household word for anti-Jewish sentiment. The first condition for the success of anti-Judaism, as Istóczy rightly recognised, was the self-consciousness of the masses. That is why he was constantly and unceasingly engaged in educational work with pen and pencil. Moreover, in Istóczy's view, anti-Judaism is not just a political movement, it must fight in as many directions as pan-Judaism is advancing, and it must be able to stand its ground on political, intellectual, social and economic fronts.

Istóczy was also aware that, just as pan-Judaism is an endeavour that spans the globe and unites the Jews of the whole world, so the defence against it cannot be the affair of one nation alone. He called for the international organisation of the fight against pan-Judaism. He is working for the creation of a common battle front of the most interested nations. He played his full part in organising the first international anti-Semitic congress. For decades he and his party maintained close contact with the Austrian, German and French anti-Semitic parties and leaders.

With astonishing clarity he recognised the only right and expedient way to solve the Jewish question. His starting point was that coexistence with the Jews was impossible. If the peoples of Europe are to live and develop in peace and tranquillity, they must, putting aside all pseudo-humanism, and free from all liberalism and prejudice, either with or against their consent, remove the Jews from their lives. The idea of isolating the Jews and removing them from Europe originated with Istóczy. In his speech on Palestine, which caused a sensation and was then all over the world press, he called on the powers attending the Berlin Congress to exert influence on the Turkish government to allow Palestine to be given over to Jewish settlement. Istóczy's suggestion did not receive the attention it deserved in its day. The attention of the influential Jewish delegates from the states attending the Berlin Congress was directed more to the question of the equal rights of Jews in Russia and Romania. Who could have guessed at the time that the idea of expelling Jews from Europe would one day become a reality. Istóczy had always insisted on the idea of Jewish settlement in Palestine. It was not without reason that he said decades later, when the movement of Herzl and the Nordau's was already a matter of intense public concern, that the basic idea of Zionism had in fact originated with him.

Let us now listen to Istóczy himself, let him speak about the essence of Judaism and anti-Judaism:
"Judaism, with the prankster image of pan-Judaism before its eyes, is thus, in every field, the offensive element in opposition to the other elements, whose destructive tide, since the disappearance of the protective barriers destroyed by the spirit of the age and emancipation, is not only contradictory to the thousand and one antagonisms which it has skilfully used and which it has fomented to its utmost advantage, in the field of gentile societies divided by antagonisms and antagonisms divided by opposing interests which the aggressor is inexorably advancing by organizing a kind of protectorate of states in incessant financial turmoil, directing the policies of governments at will in the interests of its own caste which the aggressor is increasingly gathering in its hands

with their congestive argument, can, by pervading every function of state and every social relation, mostly remove every obstacle in its way, and by bringing together, without proper channels of return of wealth, the attacking caste, by degrees, constitutes that factor, which, in addition to the absurdity of the current general principles of the national economy, is creating legions of the proletariat by increasing the wealth imbalance on a daily scale, and thus threatening to cause social and state disasters of unforeseeable consequences in the not too distant future."
Thirty years later, when he attempts to resurrect the defunct anti-Semitic party, he formulates the aim and essence of the struggle against the Jewish threat in much the same way. Buoyed by the successes of the Austrian and French anti-Semitic parties, he then attempts to revive the old party once more. He sent out thousands of copies of his appeal. Although there was interest in his initiative, it was not enough to build a national party. Until the counter-revolution, Istóczy's attempt was the last attempt to organise the Hungarian self-defence struggle politically.

"Hungarian political life will never come to a standstill until the avowed open anti-Semitic tendency is once again adequately represented in parliament." he wrote in his appeal.
In addition, there is the huge scale of emigration, which is almost a national disaster, and which, if it continues, in a few decades there may be more Hungarians in America than in our ancestral homeland, where there is in fact a process of ethnic cleansing to our detriment. There is the transfer of land, industry and commerce increasingly into foreign hands, and the decline of our careers as lawyers, doctors and engineers, so that the Hungarian people are already hanging in the air, so to speak, in their own country.
The socio-political party alliance (the name of Istóczy's new anti-Semitic party) adopts as one of its programmatic points on the Jewish question the main programmatic point of Zionism, which has meanwhile been organised worldwide, and which is expressed in the restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine. " (Social-Political Party Coalition. 1909.)
1875-1909 The two milestones of Istóczy's struggle against Jewry, the beginning and the end. For more than three decades, he fought this battle, often alone, always in the most difficult circumstances. Even if the great sacrifice he made did not produce visible results, it did keep the conscience of a part of the Hungarian people awake, and on the other hand, it established the political principles and guidelines of Hungarian anti-Judaism.

His life.

Istóczy Győző came from an old, middle noble family of the Iron County. He had all the valuable qualities of this class, but was free of its faults. The land, the landscape, where his family was rooted, which was also his native land, was the settlement area of one of the ancient, pure, hardy, magnificent shoots of the Hungarian occupying power. A sober, hard-working, tough Hungarian breed lives on this land. The Istóczy family is one of the oldest families in the county.
Győző's father passed away early, and his upbringing was cared for with much love and devotion by his mother. His interests and abilities in many fields (literature, music, drawing, sports, languages, etc.) were manifested at an early age, but his main interests were law, economics, history and politics. On completing his studies, like young people of the landed classes in the county, he entered the civil service. His knowledge and diligence soon won him the respect of his superiors, and he rose rapidly in his career. If he remains in the civil service, he will surely have a fine future. In the early seventies, however, an unfounded persecution of him by the Jews for his activities in the civil service began.
A chase from which he will only escape after years of nerve-wracking struggle. These years and these events have had a decisive influence on his future behaviour, on his entire life. His attention turned towards Judaism. Encouraged by Ferenc Deák, he left the civil service and gave himself up to active politics. In his homeland, in the district of Rum, he becomes a pro-Deák, pro-constitutionalist candidate. Since he was known everywhere in the district and was well liked by the family and the young Istóczy, he was elected by a large majority. He was a close friend of Ferenc Deák, who was very fond of him and took great pains to steer his public career. He also introduced him to Queen Elizabeth.

Istóczy, like the political leadership of the western counties in general, was in favour of reconciliation and reconciliation with Austria and the ruling house. Throughout his political career he remained faithful to these principles. But this was not the result of political short-sightedness or bias. Although he was a supporter of reconciliation, he always urged the full restoration of Hungarian sovereignty, an independent customs territory, a separate bank and a national army.

After his election as a Member of Parliament, he moved to Pest and lived here until his death. His political work was closely linked to the capital. But when he had some free time, when he wanted to relax and rest, he returned home to his native village, the old mansion in Dömötöri. For years he devoted all his time to his work as a representative and legislator. He attended meetings diligently, was always in close contact with his constituents and often visited his district. From the early eighties onwards, he put a lot of effort into organising the anti-Semitic party. He was not only the initiator of the new movement, but also its greatest authority, its soul and driving force. When he later left the party for personal reasons, it soon disbanded.

During these years, in addition to party life and party organisation, he was very busy editing his monthly magazine, 12 Pamphlets, which had thousands of copies and was distributed throughout the country. He was always very careful and meticulous in his editing, taking care of every little detail himself. He married in the eighties. From this marriage came four children, three daughters and a son. His son Imre died later, aged seventeen. This death was very upsetting.

He worked regularly and very hard. He was always learning, always educating himself. In his huge library he collected all the anti-Semitic literature of his time. Although he was not a public man and seemed to be rather reserved, he was direct and trusting to whomever he befriended. In company he was a cheerful chatterer.
His anti-Semitism was not just a political slogan, it was a slogan that shaped his family and his entire environment. He was wary of any contact with Jews. His daily life was based on a strict schedule and work schedule.

After the fall of the anti-Semitic party, he opens a law firm. However, this is not a profession for his personality. He acts without remuneration for his poorer clients, who are oppressed by Jews. His kindness and goodwill are abused by many, so it is no wonder that he ends up paying for his office instead of the income it brings in.

After the closure of the 12 pamphlets, it publishes a legal and administrative journal. This journal was a compendium of laws and regulations, with appropriate explanations. He published it until his death. In the meantime he translated from Latin with great care historical works on Jewish subjects.
He writes two booklets of political memoirs. Seeing the successes of the Drumontes and the Luegers, he tries once or twice to revive political anti-Semitism even in our country, but without success.

He has had many disappointments and trials in life, but he has withstood them hard. He found solace in his family and his work. He was a man of pure character and great will. Although he believed unswervingly in the truth of his ideals and teachings, in the fact that one day, at a terrible cost, after a great earthquake, his ideals would be fulfilled, he was still, especially towards the end of his life, inexpressibly pained by the indifference and neglect which surrounded him. In his last book, his Memoirs, he notes bitterly:
"After giving up being a member of parliament and a lawyer, I started to distribute my literary works in the country, collecting subscriptions and orders. I was forced to start collecting subscriptions myself, because Hungarian people usually only buy or order books if they are personally approached. So I had to take the country by the scruff of the neck, and in doing so I was doing a Sisyphean task. And I did it for fifteen years. Other people might have fallen ill or even fallen into this Sisyphean task, but I did it without falling ill once in fifteen years. And during those fifteen years I travelled all over the country, not once, but several times, from Orsová to Orsová, from Bratislava to Brasov, from Maramures to Csáktornya, mostly travelling by rail at night, not even sleeping, so that I could go about my business during the day. But this enormous effort was not quite commensurate with the financial result, for although almost everyone I approached, if he could, and was not afraid of the Egyptians (for according to Istóczy, the Jews are descendants of the Egyptian Pariahs), and in many cases they were, willingly placed orders with me, the greater part of my time was taken up by travelling from place to place. The financial result was therefore not entirely satisfactory, and I had to make up the shortfall from my inherited wealth.

In what I have said so far, I have described the state of affairs, now intolerable to me in every respect, to which the case I represent has come. What is to be done in this desolate state? Well, first of all, I would like to put an end to the incessant toil of searching, travelling, and other things, to which I have been subjected for 15 years now, in order to distribute my publications personally. This could be helped by the general public at home. For, by the grace of God, I am now in my 69th year and could do with a less miserable life.

His political activities.

It has already been mentioned that Istóczy entered politics at the encouragement of Ferenc Deák, and that throughout his public life he was a supporter of the conciliation of public law. After the dissolution or merger of the Deák party, he joined the liberal party. Until the early 1980s, he was a member of the Free Party. Under the pressure of a national public mood stirred up by the Tiszaeszlar crime and the persistence of Russian emigration of Jews, the clashes in the Chamber of Deputies made it impossible for him to continue to be a member of a party with Jews in it. His political friends tried to persuade him not to leave the Libertarian Party, but his resolve was unshakeable. The fact that he no longer felt quite alone in the legislature must have played no small part in his decision. Members of various parties openly supported and endorsed his speeches. This must have been a great comfort to him and a great boost to his self-confidence, since for years his speeches had been accompanied only by sanguine and mocking interjections. In 1882, Istóczy concluded from the anti-Jewish public sentiment that the time had come to create a separate anti-Semitic party, which was manifesting itself throughout the country and was being expressed in many forms. With the help of his political friends who had left the Libertarian and Independence parties, he formed the Parliamentary Anti-Semitic Party.

Internal strife due to increasing external pressure and unfavourable general political conditions, the anti-Semitic party disintegrated after a few years of hard stand. Elections to the parliament in 1884 did not bring the hoped-for results. This was mainly due to the lack of party organisations, the absence of a press, insufficient financial resources and an insufficient number of candidates. On the other hand, it was opposed by the entire official administration, the huge capital power of the Jews and the lying press propaganda. And the Independence and Libertarian parties made a tacit electoral pact against the anti-Semitic party. In all the districts where an anti-Semitic candidate was standing, only one of the two major parties put up a candidate, and where this could not be done, the Libertarians and Independents supported each other in by-elections. Under these circumstances, the result could not be in doubt. Although the leading figures of the anti-Semitic party were elected to parliament, the number of members of the party was so small, seventeen in all, that they had to give up any major parliamentary action.

Istóczy and his party, perhaps against his will, came into sharp contrast with two of the leading Hungarian political figures of his time. Lajos Kossuth and Kálmán Tisza. Kossuth certainly could not forgive Istóczy for declaring himself a believer in the conciliation of public law. In his election messages to the Independence Party, although he acknowledged the Jewish question and the need to prevent further immigration of Jews, he took a stand against Istóczy and the anti-Semitic party. Kossuth's position was highlighted and exaggerated by the mostly Jewish-controlled pro-independence newspapers in Budapest and the countryside. The effect could not fail to be felt, of course.

Kálmán Tisza, on the other hand, was a staunch, sincere Jew-lover, with Jews in his immediate circle and among his closest advisers. Not only did he fail to understand Istóczy, he hated him. He sensed in him a great and dangerous political opponent, and perhaps often felt himself the persuasive and compelling force of his truths; moreover, Istóczy interfered with his political ideas, and made his negotiations with international Jewish financiers on state loans more difficult. Tisza viewed Istóczy's experiments and political organisation with such deep prejudice and aversion that he did not shrink from using any means to destroy them.

Istóczy was very discouraged by his party's poor election results. He was also upset that "within the party, friction between the independence and reconciliation groups was persistent. He resigned from the party he had founded and some

formed a new anti-Semitic party with his intimate friend, united in principle in all respects. But even this attempt was not successful. He slowly withdrew from public life. Individually, he stuck to his political programme throughout.
He promoted anti-Judaism and the social and economic programme associated with it.

The 12 pamphlets.

In the autumn of 1880, an invitation to subscribe appeared in some daily newspapers in Budapest and the countryside. The call announced the launch of a monthly political, social and economic journal in Budapest in the near future, under the title 12 pamphlets, edited by Győző Istóczy. The identity of the editor made it clear what kind of press enterprise this was. Istóczy had long been aware that his ideas and teachings would be restricted to a narrow circle until he created a press organ to address the masses. That is why he started his weekly newspaper Our Future in 1878, but had to close it after a few months because of lack of interest. Four years later, he was more cautious and tried to publish only monthly journals. This time his venture was successful.
A few weeks after the call for subscriptions was issued, enough subscribers had already signed up to make it a worthwhile venture. From then on, for twelve years, a new issue of the 12 pamphlets was published punctually in the middle of each month. Its subtitle later became anti-Semitic, then anti-Semitic party newspaper. Later the subtitle was dropped. From its first issue to its last, the new journal aimed to promote anti-Jewish ideas. Istóczy wrote relatively infrequently in his journal (his articles were mostly anonymous), leaving the space to his colleagues. Over the years, many valuable and still useful articles and studies on the history, spirituality, religious ideas, laws and traditions of Judaism were published. Some of these articles are truly treatises. Most of the articles, of course, deal with the Hungarian public situation, mercilessly attacking the government, the ruling parties and the whole system for its sins and omissions. Many writers have dealt with the means and methods of the social and economic expansion of Jewry. Most of them point out with blunt honesty and ruthlessness the real reasons for the triumphant advance and assertion of Jewry.
We present here an excerpt from one of the 12 pamphlets:

"It is undeniable that wherever Jewry infiltrates, it is a divisive and disruptive element. I must mention that our dear Jewish defenders are mostly those who, in the feverish period of the geschäft of 1867-73, had a good deal of good things in the woods and whose morals culminate in the fact that in every state of the world the bastards have taken advantage of the tidal wave of business and that to swim against a rising tide is foolish, they preach that we should be lively, especially in the field of industry and commerce, and not cede it to the Jews.

It is not that the Jews are the most horrible of all, that they are greedy, that they run like horses in the hope of gain and profit, but that they lack a moral sense, that they have nothing sacred or honourable before them when their interests demand it. Or does it occur to the Jew, who has settled in a simple village, but one of unspoiled morality, when, counting the woman vain, he takes her there with laces, ribbons, silk scarves, and other articles of luxury, to fetch for them wheat, corn, fat, bacon, does it occur to him, that he is upsetting her moral world and robbing her of her family peace and happiness, or if he encourages her, offers her cheap brandy on credit, and later, by making her a drunkard and a drunkard, ruins her wealth and her morals, whether her sleep is disturbed by her remorse. Perhaps never. He is lively, he is prospering, he comes to the village with a small bag, as a rag-picker, now he has a house, a grocery, a regal, a consumption tax and a landlord, he is a magistrate not only in the village but also in the county, his son has already entered the academic world, he is studying at a grammar school, maintained with great sacrifice by a Christian denomination, he will soon become a doctor, a prosecutor, perhaps a district or court judge. Meanwhile the village in which the father makes his fortune will be destroyed, materially and morally, and what the father has not yet been able to live on will be claimed by his son." (Humanism and the Jewish Question, Vol. I, No. 7.)
Some sentences from another article:

"The struggle for liberty, equality and fraternity is not over when the struggles for freedom of conscience and political freedom are over. It is the most exclusive of all castes, which refuses all negotiation with the rest of mankind, all rapprochement with them, with the most obstinate obstinacy, which goes so far in its selfishness that it not only does not want brotherhood and equality with men outside its bosom, but does not even recognize them as men, and not only does not want to grant them freedom and human rights, but wants to enslave them, to enslave them morally and morally, and to enslave them to the

physical annihilation, and in return for which it not only permits but commands its members to commit every villainy and sin; the caste which claims all rights for itself alone and desires the exclusive possession of the whole globe and all the wealth of the globe, this caste not only exists intact but even rules the world. This caste is not only the most implacable, deadliest and most powerful enemy of liberty, equality and fraternity, but also the most dangerous. And the most dangerous because it is insidious and deceitful. Because he wears a mask, because he hides his wolf members in the sheepskin of feigned libertinism, and his depredations are mostly carried out under the pretence of legality, and while his hands are committing all manner of villainy, his mouth is full of the fine words of humanity and human love, he demands the free exercise of his crimes in the name of equality of rights and the free exercise of religion, and if you try to hinder his destructive work, he brands you as an unfreedomsome reactionary, a bigoted fanatic, and if you expose his crimes, he will make the world's ears ring with his wails of intolerance and persecution. The men of this caste are just as skilful in keeping the people in the dark as to their anti-social aims and aspirations as they are in favouring, inducing, often bribing, and exploiting individuals, bodies and the press, and by them in promoting Jewish sophisms, Jewish ideas and world-views."

The popularity of the 12 pamphlets is typical of the fact that Kálmán Tisza and his family repeatedly decided to ban the journal, but their intention was never implemented. The authors of the articles were mostly pseudonymous. The 12 pamphlets also had permanent columns. One of them was devoted to the latest national and international news. An interesting column was the one that published extracts from foreign anti-Semitic newspapers. There were always detailed extracts from Hungarian and foreign anti-Semitic books and pamphlets. Most of the speeches of Hungarian anti-Semitic MPs in parliament are given in full in the 12 pamphlets. This was necessary because most of the press either completely suppressed these speeches or published only very short extracts. Readers' comments and reports were always included in Istóczy's journal. As long as the anti-Semitic party existed, the 12 pamphlets had a large readership, but when the party ceased to exist, interest in the journal dwindled. By the last volume
By 1892, only fifty subscribers had signed up and there was nothing left to do but to close the paper. The 12 pamphlets served an important educational function in their day, and the material collected in them will always be a valuable source of research on the anti-Semitic movements of the 1980s.

Istóczy's international relations.

Recognising the essence of the Jewish question. Istóczy knows very well that a definitive solution can only be found if the most interested states make a concerted effort to implement some expedient plan. That is why he has sought contacts with kindred movements abroad. His work and personality were generally known and respected in these foreign circles. The Austrian and German anti-Semitic organisations repeatedly contacted him with welcome letters, correspondence and telegrams.

The Berlin Anti-Semitic League wrote to Istóczy on 15 October 1880:
"The respectfully undersigned Anti-Semitic League in Berlin has the honour to express our fullest appreciation and thanks to Your Lordship for your vigorous action against the Semitic invaders who are hostile to us all. Just as in your beautiful country, so in ours in Germany, the number of men who are determined to fight this common enemy by every means is increasing. Let us fight and win together. Quod Deus bene vertat!

On 18 July 1882, the Socialer Reichsvercin welcomes Istóczy in the following transcript:
"To the tireless, courageous champion of the European spirit, who has defied the power of modern Jewry, to the first legislator of Europe, who has had the courage to point out in a parliament the threatening ruin which threatens modern civilization on the part of the Jews, the Socialer Heichsverein of Berlin, on behalf of the General Assembly held on July 18, 1882, expresses its most profound appreciation and deepest respect."
Istóczy and his party are also frequently covered in the anti-Semitic Austrian, German and French newspapers.

The Deutsche Reichszeitung of 1 January 1880, in a lengthy article on the Jewish question, notes that the Jewish question was first raised by Victor Istóczy, MP, in his interpellation of 8 April 1875. From then on, Istóczy raised the Jewish question again and again in the Hungarian parliament, and the issue travelled throughout Europe. A similar article appeared in the April 2, 1880 issue of Das Deutsche Volkszeitung. In early March 1882, the Berliner Ostend Zeitung, also in a longer article, praised Istóczy's work, stating, among other things, that only a few years ago there had been no question of a Jewish question and that in fact there was only one man in one country, and here we mean Győző Istóczy, a Hungarian, who referred to the public danger of the Jews in the Diet, today in Germany. In Austria, Romania, Russia, and more recently in America and France, we see, on a larger or smaller scale, the movement which will end in the expulsion of the Jews from Europe.

Another Austrian newspaper wrote of Istóczy's role: "Already in 1875, when there was no anti-Jewish movement in Germany and Russia, Istóczy was the only one who warned of the dangers which threatened the people and culture from the Jewish domination. Then he was called a dreamer, and the Jews looked down on him with pity; today, when the danger is great and can be seen and understood by all, he is called a Jew-phobe.

Istóczy's statements were repeatedly published in German and French newspapers. Foreign journalists visiting Budapest visited him several times and wrote long articles about their time in his company. He was in constant correspondence with Henrici and Drumont, the leaders of the German and French anti-Semites. As a token of their gratitude and appreciation, the anti-Semitic leaders in Berlin sent Istóczy an ornate beer can with three trinkets in 1880, bearing the inscription: 'Dem braven Herrn Victor Istóczy dem Helden wider Israel, der dankbare Deutsche. Berlin, 1880." Edouard Drumont, the leader of the French anti-Semitic movement, also praised Istóczy's work. As a token of his appreciation, he sent a signed copy and photograph of his world-renowned work, La Francé Juive, with the words, "A Victor Istóczy le courage ux champion de la lutte antisemitque-témoignage de cordiale sympathie."

These foreign links slowly faded as the Hungarian anti-Semitic party disintegrated, the Austrians came to power and the French became stronger.

The first international anti-Semitic congress in Dresden.

In the June 15, 1882 issue of Pamphlet 12, a short bulletin reported that the long-held favorite idea of the leading men of European anti-Semitism, the establishment of an international anti-Semitic congress, was about to be realized. Preparations are under way to convene such a congress in Dresden in September this year. At this meeting, the anti-Semitic leaders of the interested states will agree on the modalities for further unanimous action. The next issue of the journal announces that the Hungarian anti-Semitic movement will be represented at Dresden by the members of parliament Istóczy and Ónody, and that others will also take part in the deliberations. Pamphlet 12 invites readers to come to the Dresden meeting if they can. "Hungary is playing such a prominent role in the anti-Semitic movement at the moment that it would be a clear sign of our country's international standing and of our nation's rightful role in the concert of European nations if we were not to attend in Dresden in considerable numbers, where, in view of recent events, everyone's eyes will be on us Hungarians and where we Hungarians will be called upon to play a decisive role. Before and after our centenary struggle against the Turkish world and the crescent moon, was there ever a similar event in the history of our country, where the Hungarian nation was called upon to play a leading role in the noble struggle for European culture, at the forefront of the educated European nations? Let us therefore rise to the occasion and turn up en masse in Dresden, in the land where we anti-Semites are free to speak and where enthusiastic supporters of the principle are waiting to welcome us.
So up to Dresden!

Due to the important role of the Hungarian delegates, the course of the congress is described in detail below. The invitation read verbatim as follows:
Budapest, 10 August 1882 Dear Comrade! The most immediate aims of the anti-Jewish movement, and the

for a confidential discussion of the ways and means to be adopted for the purpose of successfully combating the position of the Jews in high finance, in commerce, in agriculture, in handicrafts, in politics, in public affairs, in the press, in the arts and sciences, on an international scale, I have hereunto set you, Comrade, for Monday, September 11, f. You are cordially invited to the white room of the Helbig Elbe premises in Dresden. For Hungary, please apply in Budapest. This invitation also serves as proof of invitation and should be presented to the relevant committee members on request.

On September 8, 1882, Géza Ónody and Győző Islóczy, members of the Parliament, Szilveszter Gramm, landowner from Bihar, Bárczay, landowner from Szabolcs, Antal Günther, special correspondent of the Pesti Napló, Lajos Olsavszky, notary of the royal board, special correspondent of the Egyetértés, left Budapest on the morning express train of the Austrian State Railways. In Bratislava, Iván Simonyi, Member of Parliament, also joined the company. In Bratislava, a crowd of about 300 people waited for the passengers and accompanied Iván Simonyi to the station. The travellers to Dresden were greeted by lawyer György Okolicsányi, and Istóczy replied. The journey continued partly by rail and partly by boat. At 3 p.m. on 10 September the party arrived in Dresden, where a large delegation was waiting to welcome them. That evening there was a get-together in the main room of the Helbig restaurant. On the President's platform, among laurel bushes, stood busts of Franz Joseph, King Albert of Saxony and Emperor William. In a prominent place in the room was a nearly life-size picture of Eszter Solymosi, painted by Lajos Ábrányi and brought by Géza Ónody. Here the Hungarians met their compatriots who had arrived separately, and also Lieutenant-Colonel de Pottere, Lajos Eördögh, owner of a land business, and B. T. from Budapest. At 9 p.m. there were already about 200 guests in the Great Hall. The chairman of the convening committee, Pinkert Waldegg, first greeted the King of Saxony, then the Hungarian delegates, of whom Istóczy thanked him for his welcome with warm words. The next afternoon, the congress participants took a special boat trip to the Dresden area, and in honour of the Hungarian guests, the orchestra played the Rákóczi march again. And at the excursion site, at Istóczy's request, the Henricis demonstrated the salamander rubbing. Later that evening, in preparation for the opening of the Congress the following day, a social meeting was held, at which Iván Simonyi gave a lecture on the Jewish question. The party was still together when Adolf Stöcker, the German imperial court chaplain, arrived from Berlin at 11 p.m. In reply to a welcome address, Stöcker declared that there must be an end to those damnable tendencies which fundamentally undermine the social organisation, which trample underfoot the noblest ideals, and which have no other interest than profit and gain, without any selection of the means by which this can be achieved. The principle of exploitation must not triumph. To work, Gentlemen.

At 10.30 a.m. on 11 September, the actual deliberations of the Congress began. The leading personalities had held a meeting beforehand and had agreed on the order of business for the deliberations and the composition of the Bureau. Bredow was elected president of the congress, and Iván Simonyi, a Hungarian delegate, vice-president. Already from the first speeches, the contrast between the two different German anti-Semitic tendencies was expressed. Förster and Henrici declared that there was no other solution than the removal of the Jews. No matter how strict the laws against the Jews, they would still be able to predominate. It is not a question of forcible expulsion, but of legal removal. Istóczy then spoke, and, after a lengthy speech, presented a proclamation to the Christian nations and their governments, recommending its adoption. He warned the meeting that tangible results must be sought in the short two days available. As the Conference is a gathering of experts on the Jewish question, it is, in his opinion, one of its highest duties and one of its most beautiful tasks to address a rallying cry to those States which are threatened with oppression by the Jewish power.

It was only on the following day, 12 September, that the Congress took a decision on Istóczy's manifesto, adopting it with unanimous approval, and at the President's proposal the Congress participants thanked Istóczy and the Hungarian delegates for their work with three cheers. Henrici suggested that Istóczy's manifesto should be sent to all European governments and to the newspapers, and that it should be published in the Times, the world's largest Jewish paper, in the form of an advertisement, if it did not want to publish it, and would certainly take it up for money, According to Hentschel, the manifesto should also be sent to the parliaments of the individual countries, Lajos Olsavszky proposes that it should also be sent to the North American newspapers, and finally Ernő Bismarck proposes that the manifesto should not only be published in newspapers, but also in the form of a pamphlet and distributed among the people. The congress then decided to send a standing committee to take matters further and to try to set up an international anti-Semitic journal.

On the final day of the congress, 12 September, at 8 pm, the German Reform Society in Dresden organised a lecture evening with a crowd of about 900 people. The main speaker of the evening was the Hungarian MP Géza Ónody, who presented the Tiszaeszlar case to the audience, to its renewed, noisy applause. At the request of the crowd, Istóczy also spoke: 'When I first appeared with my reformist ideas in 1875, it was mainly German men who, in friendly letters, encouraged me to persevere on the road that eventually led to today.' That he persevered in spite of many attacks, despite many enemies, was largely due to the encouragement of his German comrades. To reach our goal, we must continue to show courage, perseverance and, if necessary, self-sacrifice. Let us continue to fight, united, with redoubled zeal, for our cause, which is a cause of culture and civilisation, a cause of humanity.

Economic policy.

The picture that we are trying to paint of Győző Istóczy would not be complete without at least a brief mention of his specific economic views, principles and aspirations. In this area, too, he was as much at odds with the prevailing views and dogmas of his time as he was on the Jewish question. His anti-Judaism was obviously closely linked to his economic principles. This is obvious, since the Jewish conquest of the country was primarily economic. And it was precisely our prevailing economic principles, system and laws that prepared the way for the rapid expansion of Jewry.

It was our economic inertia that led to the country's bankruptcy, social misery, poverty and emigration. The nation-building economic programme was most lacking in the life of the Tiszakálmani era. Istóczy, hanging on from the outset, was the most outspoken in his opposition to Manchestrianism, whose principles and doctrines dominated public thought. He scourges the rule of mobile capital, gold and the stock exchange, and condemns their discounting.

Once again, it points to the disappointing social consequences of the use of free competition. In his last speech to Parliament, he addresses these economic issues. The working classes are becoming more and more indebted year by year, those who can are emigrating, while the so-called harmful element is visibly multiplying. In the face of this decay and destruction, which threatens the healthiest elements of the Hungarian nation, the social classes which have sustained the Hungarian state through so many storms for a thousand years, we see no remedy coming from anywhere. All the parties of the House of Representatives are in holy libertinism. What prevails here has nothing to do with true liberalism, it is nothing other than stock market liberalism, the essence of which is the exploitation of the productive classes of the population for the benefit of the few.

And the main reason for this is that there are only political parties in the House of Representatives, and they have only a political programme, but no socio-political or economic programme. Or, if there is, it is Manchester liberalism, the guiding principle of which is laisser passer, laissez faire, he who can bear it, in other words, the state should not care about society and its economic life. The nation, however, rightly demands from its representatives a healthy social policy, a healthy economic and agrarian policy that can protect the productive classes of the population that sustain the Hungarian state from being permanently marginalised. But who should initiate such social and economic policies in our country. Our politicians and statesmen do not have the courage to do anything that might come into conflict with the prevailing stock market liberalism. They are afraid that the spokesmen of stock market liberalism, the stock market liberal newspapers, will pronounce the big cherem on them and they will be made politically impossible. We need a healthy agricultural policy first and foremost, so that the Hungarian farmer is not deprived of his land by international big business and the Hungarian farmer is not separated from his land, the basic principles of agricultural policy: first of all, the protection of landed estates, including small estates, a large-scale plantation system, the organisation of agricultural credit and the co-operative business, the establishment of a public warehouse system to eliminate the practices of grain agents and grain merchants, the complete elimination of the intermediary trade from the supply and equipment of the army, the creation of a new law on the field marshal, and a far-reaching amendment of the hunting law, because game is causing great damage to plantations throughout the country, etc. (9 December 1891).

How many original ideas and proposals are there in just this one speech? Most of the measures proposed, to the immense detriment of the country, were only created years, decades later. But Istóczy was not content with outlining the principles of a new, sound economic policy in the interests of working society. He justified his economic ideas in the universal interests of the country in a lengthy speech, on a case-by-case basis.

As early as 1875, he expressed the necessity of taking state ownership of the many private railways in the country and the great importance of creating a unified Hungarian state railway network. It was only twenty years later that Gábor Baross pushed through this momentous reform. At a time when the freedom of the private economy

was the overriding principle, Istóczy's principles and proposals were seen as incomprehensible eccentricities. This, however, did not prevent Istóczy from developing his economic and social programme, which was well ahead of his time.

"In order to indicate my position, I consider it necessary to state first of all that I am in principle an unconditional supporter of the State railway system, and I firmly believe that the only satisfactory final solution to the iron railway problem, not only in our country but in general, is for the State to take over and manage all the iron railways in due course. I consider that the iron railways must be dealt with in the same way as the post and telegraph. These, like the iron railways, are so deeply involved in the life of the State and society, and play such a decisive political, economic and social role today, that to leave them to the arbitrary control of certain associations and interest groups is clearly to risk the most important tasks of the State. We must put an end to the situation whereby all our railways, with the exception of 140 and a half miles of Hungarian royal state railways, are managed by private associations. Today, what Istóczy said about the nationalisation of the railways may sound unusual and peculiar, but at the time he was undoubtedly the only one to take this position.

The debate on the law restricting the free practice of usury gives Istóczy another opportunity to criticise liberal economic policies. Its basic principles include free competition and unlimited usury, which in our country has, in a relatively short time, numbed the industry and destroyed the landed estate, especially the smallholding.
In countless villages where there used to be a wealthy middle and small landowning class, a whole new breed of feudal system has now taken root. In this system, the usurer is the feudal lord and the people no longer bound to the land destroyed by the usurer are the serfs. He also warns, however, that usury can only be completely eliminated if provision is made for the institutional credit supply of the small landed classes and the small people.

The defence of the interests of agriculture is mentioned in almost all his speeches. The reason for the decline of our agriculture is the predominance of the representatives of movable capital in all sectors of economic life, in the press and in parliament. Movable capital has not only been freed from all constraints, it has been granted privileges. At the time of the company's foundation, who cared about the interests of the landed estate, which yielded barely 45%, when you could become a millionaire or at least a wealthy man overnight. Mobile capital mobilised the landed estate and the result was that both the large and the small and medium landed classes were fortunate enough to be able to mobilise themselves out of the ancestral estate.

He repeatedly advocated the transfer of the right to drink from private to public ownership. The private Regalian proprietors have no other consideration than who pays more in rent, so that most of the pubs in the country are now in the hands of the Jews, with whom the Christian publicans cannot compete, not least because the Jews not only make more money for themselves by selling adulterated and unhealthy drinks, which are found all over the country, and even poisonous substances, but for the Jewish publican, the pub is nothing more than the scene of the financial operations of a looting, usurious raider, who ensnares the villagers, who are dumbed down and demoralised by spirits, in his web, and the Jewish pub is also a fence house, to which all the stolen goods from the village are sent.

Legislative proposals.

During his quarter of a century in parliament, Istóczy drafted and introduced four bills. In chronological order, the first was on the introduction of the stock exchange tax, the second on the abolition of the stock exchange levy, the third on the regulation of the instalment business, and the fourth on the introduction of the small landowner credit trust. Although none of these proposals made it into the Hungarian statute book due to Istóczy's oppositional and anti-Semitic party position, we believe they should be remembered because they provide an interesting insight into the political and economic views of their author.
Istóczy has edited all four proposals with great care and conscientiousness. He has done thorough preliminary research. He was thoroughly informed about foreign legislation on the subject, familiarised himself with the discussion material and studied the practical value and usefulness of the laws. He adopted as much and as much of them as our peculiar domestic conditions allowed. He paid attention to every little detail. His proposals are excellent works, both from a legal and a stylistic point of view. And their value and importance are typical, if only later, if only years or

decades later, and albeit in a slightly different form, the ideas contained in its proposals became law. For each law he produced a detailed explanatory memorandum. These are valuable economic studies in their own right.

On 3 April 1886, he presented his 22-stage proposal for a tax on stockbroking. In the explanatory memorandum to this proposal, the following noteworthy statements are made:
"In addition to the general debt-to-debt accumulation system of the States, which is then followed as far as possible by the ever-increasing flood of securities, the ever-increasing flood of bodies and associations existing in the State has created and increased a testicular class of society, consisting predominantly of wealthy Jews, This testate class does not plough, does not sow, but reaps the best, and whose productive industrial labour consists at most in the occasional rolling up and cashing in of the interest and dividend coupons of securities, and in the constant exchange of securities. And it is for the benefit of this class, which is predominantly composed of rich Jews, that the peasant, the landowner and the industrialist, the solid merchant, work, toil and sweat, and it is in the service of this class that the press operates, the parliaments function, and all the factors of state power are at its disposal, in order to advance its interests in every way.

For the same reason, if we do not want this unhealthy economic and social condition to create, in ultima analisi, on the one hand, the worst Jewish plutocracy and, on the other, the proletariat, plundered of everything it has, as the only two remaining social classes, we must take care, from the outset, to paralyse and break the dictatorship of the unbridled rule of the movable capital, which the Jews are increasingly taking to the point of absurdity.

The stock exchange is the main arena of operation for the Jews, who wage an economic campaign of destruction against the other classes of society with movable capital, money. The stock exchange, the strongest fortress of the Jewish plutocracy, the battlefield of the stock exchange columns, on which every day hundreds and thousands and thousands of Gentile economic existences are spread out as dead or badly wounded." If the stock exchange, this most important citadel of Jewish power, cannot be closed down or at least controlled, we must at least ensure that the Jewish movable capital that turns up on the stock exchange is taxed as effectively as possible. At the end of the same year, Istóczy submitted another bill to abolish the exceptional court of the Budapest Commodity and Stock Exchange. In its explanatory memorandum, the proposal states that the special arbitration court of the stock exchange is a special, exceptional, privileged court created for the protection and enforcement of alien interests, which is incompatible with the existing legal institutions of the country. In his speech on the occasion of the introduction of the proposal, he sheds interesting light on the legal and economic situation of the Stock Exchange and the role of the Jews in the life of the Exchange. Not only do the Jews of the Stock Exchange enjoy the privilege of not paying taxes, which has now disappeared, but they also have the right to be subject only to the jurisdiction of their own order, of judges of their own class. The purpose of the special stock exchange court is nothing other than to take the giddiness of the stock exchange under its protective wing and thus remove it from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. The stock exchange court is formed from the members of the stock exchange council, and it is already well known that the council of the Budapest Commodity and Exchange Exchange is composed of Jews, with the exception of two or three Christians. What kind of arbitration court is it, asks Istóczy, where the litigants can only choose Mr Pinkelesz, Mr Kohn, Mr Lévy or Mr Rubinstein, Mr Galitzenstein, Mr Kurfunkelstein, or for a change Mr Goldberger, Mr Silberger, Mr Horchberger, as judges in their cases? These exceptional stock exchange courts are veritable Jerusalem Sanhedrins.

In 1890 Istóczy submitted two other bills, one on the regulation of the sale of movable property on instalment and the other on the abolition of the homestead. Both proposals were aimed at protecting millions of uninformed little people against Jewish business shenanigans and Jewish money laundering. The latter proposal in particular is of great significance. It is in fact a modern form of small property protection. Indeed, this bill would entitle all those whose holdings do not exceed twenty acres to have their property declared an exempt home. Under the proposal, no judicial or administrative execution may be levied on the exempted home and its contents, or on the beneficial ownership thereof, and consequently no lien of execution may be levied or registered on the related property. The nearly one hundred pages of explanatory memorandum of the proposal paint a frank, unembellished picture of the bleak state of Hungarian agriculture. The biggest problem, according to Istóczy, is that instead of abolishing the ancestral property system in 1848, we have not provided for legislation that could have counteracted the adverse consequences of land mobilisation. The result of this is that what neither the Turks nor the Tatars were able to accomplish, to deprive the Hungarian nation of the Hungarian land, is nowadays being accomplished without a single stroke of the sword by international big capital, by the confessor, by the usurer, by the speculator, by the economic and financial system serving cosmopolitan interests.

policy. Istóczy shows, on the basis of reliable statistical data, that in 1887 some 70,000 estates changed hands, either by forced sale or by auction. And in the 13 years from 1875 to 1887, 808,000 such exchanges took place. On the basis of these figures, it is not difficult to calculate how many years it will take for the country's current landowners to be dispossessed of their land and how many decades it will take for Hungary to cease to be Hungary. Land, of course, is only bought by those who have money, and only the foreign 'harmful element' that has invaded our country has money nowadays. The overloading and mobilisation of land in Hungary is pulling the soil out from under the feet of the Hungarian nation. As a result of the indebtedness, the yield of Hungarian land is being taken over by its rentiers, and as a result of the changes of ownership by means of auction, the Hungarian land itself is in ultima analisi falling into the hands of elements whose national traditions and national aspirations are not rooted in Hungarian land.

Its appreciation.

During his political struggles, he had his fair share of both attacks and adulation. His opponents did not spare his person, his private life or his family. They used every means at their disposal to make his life miserable. The entire powerful Jewish press corps that had already been formed in the eighties continued to fight against him in close unity and with tenacity. Because his human character, his family life, did not provide a platform for attack, his political activities were vilified, and he himself was slandered, slandered and mocked. His politics could not be combated with serious intellectual weapons and plausible arguments of reason. Only one small pamphlet attempted to criticise Istóczy's ideas in an objective tone and with scientific arguments. Adolf August Istóczy und die Juden is not so much arguing with Istóczy as with the French historian and sociologist Du Mesnil Marigni's booklet On the Jews, which Istóczy had translated into Hungarian.

Adolf Austint recommends to Istóczy a more liberal solution to the Jewish question, and to break the Jewish money power he suggests that Christian society assimilate the Jews as quickly and as much as possible. In this way, he can gain possession of the Jews' money-making and business skills.

As long as there was an Anti-Semitic Party, Istóczy had plenty of popularity. Crowds of thousands listened breathlessly to his speeches. His words caught the attention of the whole country. The youth, the lower clergy, the urban bourgeoisie and the rural landowning class alike were enthusiastic. After the demise of the Anti-Semitic Party, he was slowly forgotten. Only now and then did a warm-hearted article appear, praising his merits and quoting his struggles. In the August 25, 1904 issue of Alkotmány, Géza Petrassevich wrote the following about him under the title A magyar Cassandra:

"The fateful name of Cassandra could be applied to many figures in Hungarian public life, but it is most fitting for Győző Istóczy, the leader of Hungarian anti-Semitism. For thirty years he has been fighting, sometimes exhausted, sometimes resting, sometimes reigniting his ardent spirit for the regeneration of Christian Hungary. He is not discouraged, he does not despair, he fights for the just cause until his last breath, even though he feels in his soul that if Hungary's development continues in this way, then Finita la comédia then Finis Regni Mariani. In his social, private and political life, this providential and puritanical man is consistent and steadfast. He is not discouraged by incomprehension, not deterred by the great cherem, not disheartened by the flag, not even by the most painful stab in the back; by the mockery of his own faith and of his blood brothers, by his carelessness and ignorance, and by his casual disdain for anti-Semitism. Do these gentlemen not see that, at the same time that they belittle Istóczy and the movement that started, sometimes failed, sometimes revived under his spiritual leadership, they sneer at him, that at the same time they are slaves, common servants, lackeys of those Jews in Hungary whose father was still a rag-picker or house-maid to their father.

And so we stand, and yet Győző Istóczy is not discouraged, because his vocation is the ordination of fate, unfortunately, the fateful ordination of the Greek mythological story of Cassandra, the former Apostle, who knows that his apostolate will be rewarded with mockery, a pitying smile, persecution."

He spent the last years of his life in quiet retirement, surrounded by his family and intimate friends. So overwhelmed by the excitement of the outbreak of the Great War, he died a few months later, in early 1915.

He has taken on and completed the difficult and thankless task of making the leap. Fate was cruel to him. Although he always believed in the coming of the hour of liberation from Jewish rule, he could not live to see these uplifting times. He had all the struggles and trials of the seed sowers, and all the glory of the seed sowers.

IRODALOM:
Works by Győző Istóczy:
Parliamentary speeches, motions and proposals 1872-1896 (1904).
The destruction of the Hungarian anti-Semitic party and its consequences.
1906. The place of the Hungarian nation in the European family of nations.
1908.
Memorabilia and miscellaneous. 1911.
Adolf August Juden, a small booklet on Istóczy's ideas.
For more on Győző Istóczy, see also the author's work, The Life and Struggles of Győző Istóczy (published by the United Christian National League, 1940, Budapest).

Géza Ónody.

Tiszaeszlár.

At the beginning of his political career he was not anti-Semitic at all. Like Istóczy and Verhovay, he only joined the anti-Semitic camp later, as a result of his experiences with the Jews. He came from an old family of landowners from the region of Sabolcs. He was born in 1848 in Tiszaeszlar. He studied law at the Law Academy in Kassa. He was first a chief bailiff in the district of Akodada, and then was elected to the Chamber of Deputies of his native district of Hajdúnánava with the forty-eighths programme. He was a firm believer in the politics of Kossuth. He remained faithful to these public principles even when he formed the anti-Semitic party with the Istóczy family. In keeping with the perception of the times, Ónody was also a liberal to the core. On the Jewish question, too, he initially took an egalitarian stand. It was only when the dark swarms of Eastern Jewry slowly and completely overran his county, district and village that he looked with a sharper, more open eye at the activities of the newcomers. But it was only after the murder in Tiszaeszlar that he became a full-blooded, convinced anti-Semite. His family estate, Tiszaeszlár, was on the outskirts of the small village of Sabolsk. Whispers and rumours of the Tiszaeszlar murder soon reached him. He immediately investigated the matter. He questioned the people of the village about what had happened. When he became convinced of the truth, he was shocked and deeply moved by the crime. Now all his interest turned to Judaism and the Jewish question. The problem was not entirely new to him; he knew Istóczy and his work from parliament. He did not want to go after slogans. He threw himself with great zeal into the study of the Jewish question. He read all the works he could find on the history, religion, nature, social and economic role of the Jews. Having learned the essence of Judaism, he realizes that it is of vital importance for Hungarians to free themselves from the flood of Jews from the Jewish élite. Apart from this question, everything else takes a back seat. He joins Istóczy.
He is a fighter, a fanatic. With all his heart and soul, with total dedication to the cause he has committed himself to. He will be one of the most zealous, hard-working and enthusiastic members of the anti-Semitic party. He devotes almost his entire fortune to the cause of anti-Semitism.

The Tiszaeszlar case was actually brought to the Hungarian public by Ónody. He mentioned the case at the end of his speech during the debate on the bill on covering the costs of the Bosnian campaign at the session of the House of Representatives on 23 May 1882. He warned of the serious consequences of the Jewish current in Russia, and then said: "I will illustrate a fact which will convince the House of the dangerous current which is flowing towards us from Russia. The fact happened in the village in which I live, and indeed it stirs up the blood of the whole Christian world, namely, according to the religious rites of the orthodox Jews, supposed to be the feast of atonement for innocent Christian

the blood of the maiden must be taken. The case is so serious that it deserves public attention. It happened in the village in which I live, Tiszaeszlár, on April 1, F., that at 12 noon a 14-year-old girl went from Tiszaeszlár to a shop in the so-called Újfalu, which belongs to this village, to buy a few pennies, and when she returned from there, witnesses, living people testify that they saw the girl passing the Israelite Orthodox synagogue, and there she disappeared, and was lost. The people began to riot and demanded the girl from the Israelites, but they did not answer, but sought every possible way out. Coincidentally, the horror begins to dawn. Today, the case is before the Nyíregyháza Court of Punishment. Namely, the girl was lured into the church by the so-called pruner from Tiszaeszlár, her hands tied behind her back, her mouth gagged and what happened to her? Allegedly, she was killed in order to take her blood and to distribute it among the Orthodox faithful in all directions of the wind rose for the Passover sacrifice. This fact was reported by the circumciser's own child. There are witnesses who heard cries for help from the synagogue at the time, and today the Nyíregyháza Criminal Court is dealing with the case on the basis of the unanimous testimony of these witnesses and the testimony of the sower's child. I appeal to the Government to use all possible means to prevent such elements from entering the country.

With this speech, Ónody committed himself once and for all to the anti-Semitic movement. All the time, he followed the developments in the Tiszaeszlar affair with the most vigilant attention. He fought the fiercest battle against the deceptive Jewish mine work. All Jewish lies and slander were ruthlessly exposed. In the press and in the House of Representatives, in speeches and lectures, he often demanded the free exercise of truth. His work on the Tiszaeszlár affair enabled him to get to know the Jews even better and more thoroughly. His impressions of the Jews, his research in the field of blood libel and his experiences in connection with the Tiszaeszlar case were written in a separate book. "Eszlar Tisza in the past and in the present." The book is divided into four parts, the first dealing with Jews in general, the second with Jewish mysteries, the third with ritual murders and blood sacrifices, and finally the fourth with the Tiszaeszlar case. In this work, Ónody shows himself to be an excellent observer, a thorough researcher and a lively writer. First of all, he emphasises the alien nature of the Jews' moral principles, and then analyses their dispersion and wandering instincts.

"A merciless big crooked nose, above it sharp eyes, below it a smile of sly lips, overshadowed by two corkscrew-like braids of hair, a thousand antique suits of clothes in tatters a veritable mosaic on two legs, a pendulum, a crooked back and a whistle, scattered from village to village by the ugly passions of money and the golden hopes of the future, this is the Jew. He lies, he cheats, he swears falsely, he is mocked by street children, he is scolded from houses, he is spat in the face, just to get money, just to be great and powerful one day, to rule the press with his cobbled-together money one day, public offices, parliament, to shake hands with Count X and Minister Y, to replace his name, stained with the filth of the shameful past, with a great name of history, to laugh in the face of the stupid world: Geld regiert die Welt. So that he can mock, with a slap on the back, the society whose deceptions, at the mercy of which he has climbed to a higher foundation by selling needle, thread, brass ring, shabby ringy and rag.

The Jewish people, according to Ónody, are characterised by two main qualities: an astonishingly rapid procreation and boundless perseverance. These racial traits are the eternal characteristics of the Jews and have accompanied them from the beginning of their history to recent times. Its high rate of reproduction entails the decadence of the host society, and, if nothing counterbalances the free exercise of its instincts, it upsets the balance of national forces by exploiting the other racial groups, and, by fraud and every conceivable means of cunning, by reducing to the ultimate destitution of the beggar's rod the thousands and thousands of families who were formerly prosperous and interwoven with national traditions, he devours the vitality of nations. It creates a vast monopoly, seizing into its hands commerce, industry, the press, shipping and railways.

Ónody justifies the justification of anti-Semitism by saying: 'Against the current of this dangerous race it is all the more a sacred duty to enter the ranks of the struggle and to fight to the death for the sacred cause of public morality, because the state of things has already come to the point where the interests of the Jewish race are beginning to be placed above the great interests of the healthy progress of culture by modern liberalism, which has become in its short-sighted blindness an alliance of interests.

Where has Hungary been in the decade and a half since the enfranchisement? It is not enough that the strongest pillar of the nation, the middle landowning class, has been largely wrested from its possessions by usury and fraud, and has been sold off, as the land registers testify, and that they have used their corrupt racial spirit to intrude into the place of this class and have taken over for 50 kroner the gracious names of respectable families intertwined with the nation's past and traditions, and that it is not enough that forests and

have made the arable land barren and barren by their rapacious system of farming, it is not enough that they keep the industriousness of the industrialists of towns and villages in servile servility, that they hinder the development of industry and commerce by their giddiness and competition under the banner of free industry, it is not enough that they become masters of all enterprises by the power of their cobbled-up money and drive back solid competition by fraud, bribery and cunning, it is not enough, it is not enough that by usurious loans they ruin officials, civil servants, military officers, youths and pupils financially and morally, not infrequently plunging them into the depths of despair, prison and the grave, not enough that they destroy the morals of the common people of sober and honest character, in their hearts, minds and health, with spirits, tempting them to drunkenness and vice, destroying them financially, but with a dark passion of vile self-interest and fanaticism they even shed the blood of innocents.

In the part of his book dealing with the Tiszaeszlár case, Ónody gives a detailed account of the living conditions of the Jews in the village, their fanaticism, the circumstances of the crime, the evidence, and the Jewish subterfuge to cover up the murder. Some of the more interesting details and features of this chapter are briefly described below.
Tiszaeszlár is a poor little village in Szabolcs county with 1200-1400 inhabitants, of whom about 200 are Jews, who work with untiring diligence to cleanse the poor population of the small village. In the fifties, only 12 Jews lived in the village, but thirty years later, they made up one seventh of the village's population. And what Jews? Perhaps they were susceptible to progress, or to the laws of European culture? No, they are just as bigoted and fanatical today as they were when they came here from the European centre of Jewry, Gacia. The same Jewry that destroyed the Polish people and Poland, which deserved a better fate. In Gacia, Ónody also made a long journey to study the Jewish question. His experiences painted a frightening picture. The common people of Poland are now completely under the supremacy of the destructive race, unable to think or act without it, which gives direction, punishes and rewards according to its evil interests. Seizing money, property, and all earthly goods, he is in reality ruling over the Polish peasantry, and we are witnessing the destruction of a nobler moral order in Poland under the destructive influence of Mosaicism. It was this kind of bigoted, fanatical Jewry in Gacia that had also infested Tiszaeszlar and its environs. Neighbouring Tiszalök, for example, is a veritable Mecca for Galician Jews. Jews from Tiszaeszlár played a suspicious role in the investigation of the Tiszaeszlár murder. When her mother passed the synagogue in Eszter's disappearance, despairing and lamenting, the sacher, József Scharf, who, according to the evidence, had committed the murder, consoled her with the following words: 'Never mourn, she will be found dead or alive, such a disappearance also happened in Nánás, the Jews were blamed for the murder and later the girl was found dead in a reed bed'. Ónody also tells us that whenever strangers appeared in Eszlar during the investigation, the Jews immediately became frightened, whispered, ran to the village hall, frightened and pale, and tried to find out the reason for the arrival of the strangers. Ónody's lecture gives us a full insight into the shady dealings of the pseudo-hoax caught at Tiszadada and identified by the Jews with Eszter Solymosi. He concludes by listing the Jewish attempts to cover up the murder as proof beyond doubt of the guilt of the Jews. Attempts were made to steal the examining magistrate's papers, to declare Móric Scharf, the key witness, insane, and to contact the imprisoned prisoners on smuggled papers written in Hebrew, a reward of 5,000 forints was offered to the finder of Eszter Solymosi, the synagogue door lock was replaced with a smaller one to prove that the murder could not be seen through the keyhole, in dirty papers, in tabloids, pamphlets and other publications, regularly slandered the examining magistrate and the forensic chairman, vulgarly attacked anyone who refused to participate in the cover-up, attacked the Minister of Justice himself in a vulgar manner, cast doubt on his jurisprudence and sense of justice, and made him a secret anti-Semite because he refused to be a tool in their hands to cover up the Eslar murder. From all these attempts, from the grave confessions of Móric Scharf and from the solidarity of Jewry, the irrefutable reality is that the Hungarian criminal justice system is faced not with the crime of a simple murder, but with the crime of a ritual murder, born of religious fanaticism and defended by the unity of religious fanaticism.

The antisemitic party.

It has already been pointed out that Istóczy was the first to proclaim the political struggle against Jewry, not only in Hungary, but in the whole of Europe. But it was also Istóczy and his comrades who created the first political party whose main programme was

was committed to the fight against the encroachment of Jewry. Although there were anti-Semitic movements and organisations in Austria, Germany and France in the 1970s and 1980s, they were either social in nature or, if they were anti-Jewish, they did not emphasise their anti-Semitic nature in their names or programmes. Politicians and representatives with anti-Jewish sentiments and beliefs were active in various national parties, such as the National Party in Germany, the Christian Socialist Party led by Lueger in Austria and the National Party led by the Knight Schoenerer. In France, it was only in the late 1980s that a distinctly anti-Semitic party was formed under Drumont. The rapid increase in the number of Jews, the total economic decline of entire social classes, the breakdown of internal social equilibrium, the decline of public morality, the omnipresence of an alien spirit, the accompanying neglect of the nation, the gradual gentrification of our large cities, were in themselves sufficient material grounds for the birth of an anti-Semitic party. The anti-Jewish demonstrations throughout the country have sufficiently shown how the great masses feel and think. In Tiszaeszlar, the incessant Russian Jewish immigration, the introduction of the law on marrying Jews, kept the Jewish question constantly on the agenda. All these circumstances thus hastened the emergence of a political movement of an anti-Semitic nature. On the other hand, there were also significant obstacles. Thus, first of all, we must mention the fact that Hungarian public opinion at the time understood politics almost exclusively in terms of our public-law relationship with Austria. In fact, the entire Hungarian public opinion was politically divided into two camps: the forty-eight and the sixty-seven. There was no difference between the political parties on any other issue of principle or ideology. Behind the question of public law, everything else was pushed into the background. Istóczy's first attempts to form a party were unsuccessful because of differences of opinion on public law. For a long time, he could not persuade his dissenting comrades to unite in a new party. At first, Istóczy's political friends were all from the Independence Party. As early as 1880, Simonyi, Ónody, György Széli, Békássy and Arthur Odescalchy were already working in parliament in his spirit. There were also some anti-Semitic members of the Libertarian Party, especially the clergy, but they were not very bold in expressing their opinions against Kálmán Tisza. Istóczy's relationship with the Libertarian Party became clearer after his resignation in the summer of 1882.

It was not long before this issue was settled in the Independence Party. At that time there were two independence parties; one led by Irányi, the other by Mocsáry. The members who held anti-Semitic views belonged to the Mocsáry faction. Within the party, the differences between the pro-Jewish and anti-Semitic members became more and more pronounced. The leaders tried to avoid clarifying the party's position on the Jewish question. Eventually, in early 1882, the party had to take a stand on the Tapolca petition, which it knew called for the abolition of the emancipation of Jews. Pál Hoitsy and Gábor Ugrón opposed the petition, while the anti-Semitic deputies, on the other hand, approved the Tapolca petition and did not comply with the party's decision. In fact, they attended and spoke at anti-Semitic rallies in various parts of the country. Géza Polonyi and Ottó Herman objected to this behaviour. In the end, the Independence Party passed a resolution that made it impossible for the anti-Semitic members to remain members. In the following days four of them left the party.

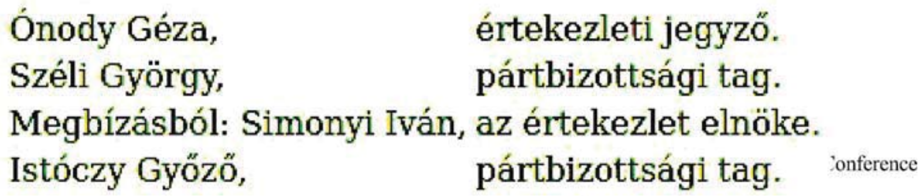
The formation of the "parliamentary anti-Semitic party circle" did not take place until 8 October 1883. The anti-Semitic deputies concerned were probably also urged to take a decision by the fact that new elections for deputies were due in the spring of the following year. If they wanted to play a role in Hungarian political life with their anti-Semitic principles, they had to make good use of the little time available to them. The formation of the party could only be carried through by giving its members a completely free hand in matters of public law. They took a united stand only on the Jewish question. A committee of four members, consisting of Istóczy, Simonyi, Széli and Ónody, took charge of the party's affairs. The practical significance of the formation of the party was that at last there was a framework within which the anti-Semitic masses could organise themselves. The Tisza Kálmáns had not approved the statutes of any anti-Semitic league, association or other organisation. This means that all anti-Jewish social organisation has been prevented from the outset. At the same time as the new party was formed, the programme of the national anti-Semitic party was published, which read as follows:

The national anti-Semitic party, formed on a party-coalition basis, has the following aims:

1. To break Jewish power and counteract Jewish influence in the political, social and economic spheres, notably in the press, money, credit, commerce and transport, industry and landed property. In pursuance of this principle, the establishment of all institutions and the support of all legal movements capable of achieving the aim now set forth should be urged. These are:
2. To protect the interests of the landowning and farming class through a sound agricultural policy in the national interest.
3. Restricting unrestricted freedom of industry, by introducing compulsory industry associations and requiring qualifications.
4. Restricting the ability to change.
5. The revision of the penal code in favour of Jewish interests, and the introduction of juries in criminal cases.
6. The restoration of the ritual oath before the court in both criminal and civil cases.
7. The redemption of the drink-levy to the communes, and in this connection the prohibition of the Jews from the practice of the right to change taverns.
8. The transfer of the keeping of Jewish civil registers to the civil authority.
9. The rejection of the bill on marriage between Jews and Christians.
10. To prevent the influx of Jews into the country, the Naturalisation Act should be amended accordingly.
11. To organise public finance and public credit in such a way that our finances, and thus our governmental relations, are independent of the Jewish money powers.
12. Party members are given a completely free hand in other political and, in particular, public law matters not more closely connected with the Jewish question.

The Anti-Semitic Party of the Parliament, having thus outlined its aims, calls upon all citizens of the country, of all Christian denominations and of all nationalities and classes, whatever their views on other questions, notably those of public law, to support the parliamentary anti-Semitic party in its constitutional and legal struggle and to contribute with all their strength to the election of the candidates of the national anti-Semitic party at the ballot box.

From the meeting of the Parliamentary Anti-Semitic Party held in Budapest on 8 and continued, 9 and 10 October 1883.



Ónody Géza, értekezleti jegyző.
Széli György, pártbizottsági tag.
Megbízásból: Simonyi Iván, az értekezlet elnöke.
Istóczy Győző, pártbizottsági tag.
onference

The draft party programme was prepared by Istóczy with the help of Iván Simonyi. Their proposal was adopted by the party leadership with minor amendments. The new party and all its members remained faithful to its programme throughout. Nor can there be any doubt that the wishes expressed in the programme were genuinely expressions of a national public need and served national interests.

The formation of the Anti-Semitic Party was a surprise in Hungary; even the Jewish liberal papers were quite serious about it, knowing Istóczy's tenacious personality and the prevailing mood in the country, and rightly fearing that quite new and surprising developments were to be expected in Hungarian political life. On 1 November, the headquarters of the Anti-Semitic Party opened at 1 Kálvin Square. The most urgent task was of course to prepare for the elections. The signs were very encouraging. The rejection of the Christian-Jewish marriage proposal by the House of Lords also boosted the new party's popularity. In the by-election in Párcs, the party's candidate, Ferenc Ráth, won a fine victory over the government candidate. Above all, the action of the Anti-Semitic Party prompted the major parliamentary parties to take a stand on the Jewish question themselves. The Libertarian Party, true to the spirit of Kálmán Tisza, took a completely negative position, according to the party's resolution, there had been no Jewish question in Hungary since the enfranchisement, the Independence Party was more cautious, admitting that there was a Jewish question, but that it should be solved not by anti-Semitism, but by reforming the Jews. The moderate opposition Apponyi party also said there is the Jewish question, but it must be resolved with Christian love and love of neighbour. It was obvious that the other parties would stand united against the common danger, the anti-Semitic party. The Istóczy's understood this and threw all their strength into the struggle. However, the closer the time of the elections came, the more the difficulties were felt which hindered the party's effective work. In his appeal to Istóczy's supporters, entitled "Let's Organise", he makes no secret of these difficulties.

Both the governing party and the moderate and extreme opposition have at their disposal the organisational framework already set up in previous elections, he says. They all have their old connections, they just have to pull the reins and it goes like clockwork.

Unfortunately, the Anti-Semitic Party is not in this favourable position. As a new party, it will of course still have to make contacts and organise in the districts. But how? The intelligentsia, fearing the dirt from the Jewish newspapers, dare not take the initiative; the clergy, which would play such an important role in the elections, hesitates because of the Apponyi-mania and the regrettable reticence of some of the Catholic papers in the capital, which have been taking a stand against anti-Semitism for several weeks, and the people, as we know, are waiting for the intelligentsia to give the impulse. The authorities are also putting obstacles in the way of holding meetings. The anti-independence anti-Semites are in a better position, because they can meet at any time and declare themselves anti-independence anti-Semites. But the people in the true sense of the word, the vast majority of the electorate, are anti-Semitic. The anti-Semitic leaders have to find a way to interact with these masses without rallying. This is the only way to thwart Kálmán Tisza's intention to hang the anti-Semitic party administratively by stataria. In a free and constitutional Hungary, the anti-Semites have neither freedom of assembly nor freedom of speech and are at the mercy of the arbitrary power, but if we do our utmost, the result cannot fail.

The anti-Semitic party's election manifesto to the electorate of Hungary calls on its supporters to unite. It announces that its main aim is to achieve the goals set out in its programme. The party intends to achieve these goals only by legal means and by legal, constitutional means. But as citizens of a constitutional and free state, the anti-Semites demand of the constitutional Hungarian government that no constitutional or illegal obstacles be placed in the way of the party's electoral agitation by legal means.

"All classes of the Christian Hungarian people feel with us: we are the expressors of the unadulterated public opinion of the nation on the Jewish question, which is one of the first and foremost vital questions of the Hungarian nation; the government and its public authorities should therefore refrain from suppressing the legitimate expression of the nation's public opinion by means of power, and from preventing anti-Semitic voters from exercising their constitutional right. We anti-Semites are the depositaries of the policy which our ancestors pursued against the Jews for a millennium, a policy which for a millennium formed an additional part of Hungarian public and private law, and against which, in contrast to a wise policy of a millennium, the sad experiences of the 17 short years since the introduction of emancipation, which have gone wrong, prove, if anything, nothing but the correctness and unassailability of the position of the anti-Semitic party.

All those voters, then, who want to free the country from the shameful Jewish rule,
who want to save Christian Hungarian society from being destroyed financially and morally by the Jews, and who do not want Hungary to end up like Poland, which has been overthrown by the Jews,
all voters are urged to vote only for strong, openly anti-Semitic candidates in the upcoming parliamentary elections."

But the appeal to law and legality was in vain. Kálmán Tisza's electoral machine was merciless in its ruthless harassment of the Istóczy family. There was little time to build up party organisations, and the administration ruthlessly suppressed any attempt at anti-Semitic organisation by order of the authorities. Nor did the party have a press, and the few small provincial newspapers at its disposal were not enough publicity for a party of national character. The provincial intelligentsia, which did not even dare to openly declare its affiliation to the party everywhere, did not take on the tasks of party organisation, still less did it dare to stand as candidates with the party programme, and the slanders cast on Verhovay and his newspaper, the statements of Kossuth, Apponyi and Kálmán Tisza, and the poor financial resources of the party, cast their shadow over the election results. The hope that the anti-Semitic party, as a respectable centre party to get out of the elections has not been fulfilled. It has strengthened in numbers, but not enough to have a significant impact on the balance of power in parliament. Győző Istóczy got into the legislature with a majority of 1,098 votes in Rum, Iván Simonyi with a majority of 1,090 votes in Magyaróvár, Géza Ónody with a majority of 1,028 votes in Hajdúnánás, Andor Vadnay in Tapolca with a majority of 919 votes, Károly Szalay in Csurgó with a majority of 1,075 votes, Károly Neudtwich in Zurány with a majority of 580 votes, Gábor Baron Andreánszky in Pincehely with a majority of 530 votes, and Pál Csuzy in Szakos with a majority of 300 votes. In addition to those listed above, Ferenc Ráth in Szemczen and József Veres in Orosháza were also elected. Márton Tartoll in Bazin, György Fülöpp in Dunapataj, Dénes Szitár in Sásd, Dénes Probszt in Vágvecsé and Gerzson Szendrey in Dárdán were also eliminated by a few votes. On the anti-Semitic side, although they did not hide their disappointment at the election results, they summarised the situation by saying that anti-Semitism emerged from the election battle not broken and not depleted, but significantly increased in number, strength and authority. If the party had the necessary financial means, there would be at least sixty or seventy anti-Semitic MPs. While the Jews alone gave the government party two hundred thousand forints, and the high clergy and the lords gave the moderate opposition Apponyi party four hundred thousand forints, the anti-Semitic party never had more than 6,700 forints at its disposal. This amount was barely enough to cover the costs of the central administration.

The election result had an interesting echo in the German and Austrian anti-Semitic press. The Österreichischer Volksfreund in its article "Anti-Semitic elections in Hungary" notes that despite all the shouting, swearing and mockery, the Hungarian people elected more than three times as many anti-Semites to parliament as there had been before. According to the Parliamentarian, the most remarkable thing is the success of anti-Semitism. The Istóczy party consisted of five members in the last parliament, and in the next parliament it will consist of no less than 19 members, and will be the fourth party in the house in terms of strength. Only two parties won the elections, the conservatives and the anti-Semites. According to the newspaper Judenfrage, the Hungarian people, in their miserable situation and after so many humiliations, now look to anti-Semitism for salvation. Hungary's centre of gravity, its regeneration and its future now lie in the hands of its anti-Semitic leaders. In Germania's view, the success of Hungarian anti-Semitism is a cry for help for a people whose very existence is threatened. "Official Hungary proudly ignores the Jewish question and anti-Semitism: for the time being, the government will continue to work as if nothing had happened, until one day it will be faced with the dilemma: either the destructive liberal stock exchange government will fall, or Finis Hungariae.

The small number of anti-Semitic MPs in the legislature had a difficult and unenviable task ahead of them. They had to represent an idea, a programme which, once in power, had no prospect of being implemented. The elections were by no means the end of the hunt against the anti-Semitic party. Their opponents, including the large parliamentary liberal parties, the Tisza, Apponyi and Independents, felt that the Istóczyites, despite their small numbers, were still a formidable opponent, and knew that their numbers were far from reflecting their popularity and that they were backed by much larger crowds than the election results would suggest. The common interest now was to suppress the anti-Semites and make their position in parliament as difficult as possible.

The anti-Semitic MEPs did not have vain hopes about their situation. Istóczy also warned them to be prepared for the constant struggle which would be forced upon them by Jews and Jew-haters, whatever their peace-loving nature. Between Jewry and Christian Hungarians, between pro-Jewish parties and Christian Hungarian parties, there is and can be no room for transaction; one or the other must perish. Let the anti-Semitic MPs put themselves in a state of readiness, because in ten days' time, when the House of Representatives opens, they will be mobilised for a three-year campaign against the heathens. The second thing they need to know is that the nation expects them to clean up the current regime of Jewish rule. The nation has lost confidence, not only in the ruling party, but also in the opposition to independence, which cares nothing for the fact that an independent Hungary will be a Jewish country.

The Anti-Semitic Party was also re-established before the House of Representatives met. Istóczy, citing other commitments, declined the presidency, and on his proposal the party elected two co-chairmen, Géza Ónody for the Independents, Baron Gábor Andreánszky for the pro-conciliationists, and Géza Komlóssy and Rácz as clerks of the party. The party also agreed on the principles of the response to the speech from the throne. The party's participation in the debate was discussed in detail.

The response proposal paints a frank picture of the internal state of the country and calls for swift intervention before it is too late.

"Our Sovereign Lord and King! The legislature of 1867, in the sweet intoxication of regaining the constitution, forgetting the wisdom of a thousand years of tradition, made a great blunder in emancipating the Jews without fail. The infinite ingratitude and the agitating impatience of the Jewish race, which became more and more numerous as a result of emancipation, against the generous Hungarian nation, caused the frictions which are commemorated in the highest throne speech of His Majesty. To apply here mere severity against the oppressed, and not to take measures to curb the excesses of the oppressors, and thus not to eliminate the real causes of the agitation, would be a misguided procedure, and would only aggravate the existing internal troubles.
It is only 17 years since the Jews have been allowed to own real property, and already in very many counties of the country land has passed into their hands, while the owners of these estates have become beggars, landless.

And here we venture to draw Your Majesty's highest attention to the fact that thousands of Your Majesty's loyal subjects are emigrating from our country, where the population is already known to be small, to seek a new home abroad and overseas, because their livelihood in this country has been denied them, not by fate, but by the Jew. For we cannot call this a stroke of fate, which, given the existing conditions which we have brought about, must inevitably take place.
Our Serene Lord! We must not allow the legislature to ruin our peasantry as the Hungarian middle-landowning class has already been largely ruined.

Your Majesty's two countries and provinces present a frightening picture of Jewish unrestrained free enterprise: the Jewry of these two provinces has already ruined the Christian population of those provinces materially, and now, like locusts, is increasingly leaving the flattened spaces of those provinces and is overwhelming our country to an alarming extent.
Our Sovereign Lord and King! We do not want Hungary to end up like Galicia and Bukovina.
Only where the principles of equality of rights exist not only on paper, but also in practice, are the necessary requisites for the prosperity of the country provided. Where certain improductive classes, or even foreign elements, develop in abnormal proportions, and other classes are reduced to atrophy, there pathological conditions cannot be absent, and there state and social disorders cannot be avoided.

The rapid increase of Jewry, at the expense and loss of the Christian peoples, is the consequence of the crying inequality of rights, hidden under the cloak of the fictitious equality of rights so loudly proclaimed by pseudo-libertarianism, which really exists in the relations between the Jewish race and the Christian people.

Jewry, having taken the bulk of the moving capital and its control into its hands, as it did throughout Europe, has created conditions which are reminiscent of the fist law of the powers of the Dark Ages. The State which permits the proper keeping of the registers, so strictly obligatory for Christians, to be omitted in the case of the Jews, is the State which, in addition to the great tax concessions and privileges imported for the benefit of the great Jewish manufacturers, sacrifices the interests of the Christian small industrialists who are destined to compete with them, and even makes their necessary protection illusory by circumventing the close organization of the law of industry by its defective industrial law, the state, which is reluctant to introduce a good usury law that curtails the growth of mobile capital, and thus, in addition to the privileges and privileges of the Jewish mobile capital, which escapes taxation, which is too burdensome for real wealth, the state, by granting Jews unjust advantages, even denies them equal rights.
Having worked so diligently and with such admirable success in the attainment of their national economic aims, the Jews can and will now more openly set about the realization of their political aims. And their aim is nothing less than the undermining of the foundations of Christian society, the material and moral destruction of Christian peoples, and the subsequent overthrow of Christian dynasties and thrones.

Anti-Semitism is nothing other than the positioning of Christian peoples in a state of self-defence against Jewish Semitism, our mortal enemy."
With the tabling of the reply, a round three-year-long, uninterrupted, yet hopeless battle for its final prospects began. Indeed, it took great spirit, self-discipline and tenacity for the anti-Semitic MEPs to stand up for their ideals and their truths, sidelined and sidelined. The anti-Semites' proposal for a sign was, of course, rejected by the majority, but the debate gave the anti-Semites, almost one by one, the opportunity to speak and to explain and justify certain parts of the proposal for a sign. Baron Gábor Andreánszky

opened a long line of anti-Semitic speakers. Andreánszky, in Istóczy's confidence, led the party's affairs for years. His direct and gentle manner and sympathetic personality won over even his political opponents. As a member of the House of Deputies, he played a significant role in the rejection by a large majority of the House of Deputies of the bill on Jewish-Christian marriage. Andreánszky was the most outspoken speaker against the proposal. He joined Istóczy in taking his full part in the work of party organisation. He was one of the people with whom Istóczy could work in the greatest harmony, and they were bound together by a sincere friendship. The fact that they shared the same views on public law, not only their anti-Semitism, but also their anti-Semitism, must surely have played a part in this. Although Andreánszky did not belong to the extremist wing of the party, he did more than once assert his strong anti-Semitic convictions.
In his speeches, he always struck a calm tone, he was a man of reason.

He has spoken on almost every major parliamentary issue. In most cases he expressed the official party position. He emphasised the economic aspects of the Jewish question.
In his first speech, on October 15, 1884, he also stresses that the Jews, conscious of their power, are trying to fend off attacks on mobile capital as a solid wall, because for them it is a matter of life and death. We see the destruction of our people, who come into contact with them, and on the other hand we see them enriching themselves enormously. We see with what indifference the majority of our legislature and our government officials watch their own race perish and be replaced by expellees from other countries. The anti-Semites are fighting against the fist rule of mobile capital and the anarchy that this fist rule is pushing. Serving two masters at once is not an option says another time , if the government forces the nation to be the serfs of Austria and the Rolhschilds , we cannot do our duty to our country.

Andreánszky's withdrawal from the next elections was undoubtedly a great loss for the anti-Semitic party. The movement lost one of its most ardent and valuable members. Ignác Zimándy was a completely different person. He was born in 1831 in a small village in Nyitramegye. He was educated in Szakolca, Nagyszombat and Bratislava. He was first a chaplain in Törökbálint, then a theology teacher in Budapest, in Bratislava and finally a parish priest in Törökbálint. In 1884 he was elected as a representative of the Semic district with an anti-Semitic programme. Full of fire and passion. In his speeches he mercilessly scourges liberalism, Judaism and Freemasonry. His delivery was jagged and rhapsodic, precisely because of the overheated fervour within. Zimándy also paid tribute to Istóczy's courageous stand. In particular, he scourged the policies of Kálmán Tisza and Trefort. He was often carried away by the heat of passion and on more than one occasion attacked Christian denominations other than Judaism. This attitude took much of his popularity away. Otherwise he was one of the most diligent and active members of the anti-Semitic party. His attacks on Kossuth did not add to his reputation, and he crossed the line of objectivity on more than one occasion. He published a series of yearbooks entitled Awakening Voices. In it he published articles, parliamentary speeches and detailed quotations from recent anti-Semitic literature. Awakening Voices was particularly popular among the Catholic lower clergy at the time. Zimándy was also quite at home in anti-Semitic literature, spoke several languages and was undoubtedly an effective orator. During the three years he was a member of the House of Representatives, he spoke frequently. In his first speech, he confronts Kálmán Tisza's accusation that anti-Semites were disturbing peace between the races: The peace between the races is disturbed by those heartless patriots who calmly, one might say lethargically, tolerate the departure of honest, hard-working Hungarian citizens who deserve a better fate, with tears in their eyes and bleeding hearts, to a far foreign land, to America; on the other hand, they are happy to see the cold place of Hungarian citizens who have left for foreign lands taken by Jews who have been justly expelled from Russia or who have moved out of Poland for lack of a Schäft.

More than once, Kálmán Tisza was asked to account for the points he had refused to accept in Bihar, for his clear, decisive political and economic programme, and he was not without reason to say that he did not know what he wanted. Under his leadership, the country was on the verge of bankruptcy and financial ruin. Parasitic Jewry, with Tisza's support, is flooding into the country like locusts. Trefort, initially an anti-Semite, was repeatedly and sharply attacked. In particular, in his election speech in Bratislava, he described anti-Semitism as a mental illness that comes and goes twice a century. If there is a Jewish question, there can only be a Christian solution, and that is nothing other than the civilisation and assimilation of the Jews. Zimándy called Trefort's cultural policy hasty, confused and dilettantish. He severely blamed the measure of entrusting the training of teachers to a Jew, Mór Kleiner-Kármán. From
In an election pamphlet issued before the 1887 elections, he condemns the total inertia of the post-Reunification liberal political system. In twenty years this system had created a national debt of a thousand million forints. Of this

600 million for the Tisza system, although it had an annual revenue surplus of over 40 million through tax increases. He called for the Tisza government to be held accountable for spending 22 million forints without legal authority. The Libertarian Party is just a giant voting machine with no independent opinion and no criticism or control, with two thirds of its MPs not even attending meetings. It is thanks to Tisza's rule that the Jew has become the ruler everywhere, from Arva to Máramaros, from the Tisza to the Carpathians. It is typical that wherever there are many Jews, Tisza has a large and strong party. While from Pozsony to Brasov the bloody Hungarians are emigrating, foreign Jews are pouring in.

Together with Ferenc Ráth, Zimándy published the Anti-Semitic Catechism for the Hungarian people in 1884. This little book, as we read in its introduction, was intended to prepare the Christian people for a defensive struggle against the race of the living Jews, which, because of its evil, had driven them from their land and scattered them over the face of the earth, which rewards its reception into our bloody country and its embracing of us by seeking, in spite of its small numbers, to gain the upper hand, to attack us, to corrupt us in body and soul, and then to subjugate and destroy us. In twelve chapters, in one hundred and forty-eight questions and answers, this booklet deals in a direct and simple form with the essence of anti-Semitism, the ways in which Jewry enriches itself, the solution of the Jewish question, social self-defence, the political struggle against Jewry. The formulation of questions and answers is concise and clear. This little book was the most important weapon of the anti-Semitic party in its enlightenment work. Its influence could not and did not fail to have an impact. Although it was written seventy years ago, its content, perceptions and positions are still relevant today. Its popularity is marked by the fact that it has been distributed in several editions, in many thousands of copies throughout the country. To illustrate the content and spirit of the Catechism, some questions and answers are quoted below.

Why were the Jews liberated?
It is only out of liberality, and in reality to be the liberators of Jewry, and in the future its prisoners: who already bore the yoke of the Jews' clients when they were liberated. Otherwise, it is inconceivable that they would have taken this disastrous step, despite the wise warning of the greatest Hungarian, Count István Széchenyi. Although the reckless liberators deserved their fate, they dragged our entire nation down with them. Even then, those with far-sightedness said that it would have been better to liberate the then National Assembly from the money-gig of the Jews.
Why don't we limit the excesses of the Jews?
They do not do so because they have already grown upon us, so that they now represent the power; therefore all the factors which would be necessary to bring this about are somewhat dependent upon them. The government and parliament themselves have a high regard for them, not only for their private service, but also for the great influence which they exercise over public affairs and the destiny of countries, by means of their money-grubbers and the press which they pay.

Who do anti-Semites have to fight? They have to
fight:
1-firstly against the wealthy, conniving and worldwide conspiring Jews,
2-times against their powerful patrons and their friends in arms,
3-against the government that protects them,
4-against the rampant press they have at their mercy,

Who are the Jews' patrons and supporters?
Here, many of the lords are very much in favour of the Jews, and do everything in their estates according to their pleasure. To such people, the Jew is their most trusted man, their adviser, their most favoured guest: for his very sight indicates money, and he pays the price of the many things for sale. Therefore, he that would make money, is well advised to be on good terms with the people of Moses, by the flow of which he has already discouraged many.

Why is the Tisza government protecting Jews?
For it always needs a lot of money, which it cannot raise otherwise than by a Jewish loan, for which the country pays the price handsomely, but the Jewish creditors want other favours from the indebted government: otherwise they would desert it in its time of greatest need.

What should every Hungarian believe and know? He
must know and believe:
1- First, that there is a Jewish question in
Hungary, and second, that its solution is
urgent,
3 times that the solution can only be achieved by legal means, 4
times that nothing good can be expected from the Jew-ridden
government, 5 times that he is not a patriot who goes along with
the Jews,
6 times that we have no salvation except in anti-Semitism.

Zimándy did not stand in the 1887 elections. From then on he led a quiet, retired life.
Among the typical and interesting personalities of the anti-Semitic party, we should also mention Dr. Károly Neudtwich, professor at the University of Technology, full member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He became involved in the anti-Semitic movements in the early 1980s. In 1883, he was elected as a deputy in Szakcs with an anti-Semitic programme, but he remained in the minority by a few votes. But in the elections held the following year, he was sent to the district by a large majority. He was born in Pécs in 1816. He is credited with the introduction of realistic science in Hungary.
He was the first to present chemistry and other sciences in Hungarian in our higher education institutions, and soon became a private lecturer at the University of Budapest. His lectures on industry and economics at the Industrial Society were always a great event, and in 1847 he was appointed teacher of the Industrial School that was being founded. He travelled not only throughout Europe but also to the United States. The Windischgrätzes dismissed him. A few years later, he was hired at the newly founded University of Technology. He enriched the Hungarian scientific literature with several valuable textbooks. He reports on his American travels in two volumes. At the Polytechnic he lectured on technique and analytical chemistry, as well as on mining science. He was a delegate of the Hungarian government at the Paris World Exhibition of 1867. In 1874 he was appointed royal councillor. He was one of the most active members of the Association of Hungarian Physicians and Naturalists. He was elected honorary citizen of the town of Pécs and was awarded the Iron Crown by the King.
Ulrich von Hüthen writes a book on the Jewish question under a pseudonym: Das Judenthum in Österreich Ungarn. This work deservedly attracted attention even in anti-Semitic circles abroad. Neudtwich discusses the issue in great detail, and not the smallest details have escaped his attention. First he discusses the essence of Judaism itself. Then he takes up its role in the life of the state and the nation. He discusses its influence and its influence on the various social classes. Finally, he looks for ways and means of counteracting the harmful influence of Jewry.

In the introductory part of his book, he emphasises that of the many questions that concern the peoples of Europe, none is as important as the Jewish question. We must not give credence to the pseudo-prophets and the liberal notion that the Jewish question is merely a religious question invented by medieval fanaticism. The Jewish question today is no longer about the Jewish religion. It is essentially an ethical issue.

The Jews have no principles at all, their conduct is guided by a single criterion: utility and expediency. They do not belong to any party or movement with heart and soul. They will join any party from which they hope to derive the greatest benefit and advantage. In 1848 they were the first to pin the national cockade to their hats, they were the most vociferous patriots, they wrote and spoke most loudly and most often about freedom and national independence. It soon became clear, however, that all this enthusiasm was only for their own self-interest, and that they expected and hoped for benefits from the new turn of events, above all the rapid achievement of full emancipation. Of course, they were also the suppliers of the national guard everywhere, and as such they made great deals. There are thus two circumstances behind the great enthusiasm of the Jews, firstly, the hope of achieving emancipation, and secondly, the excellent business opportunities. Neudtwich then pointed out the great danger that lay in the fact that in the space of 25 years the Jews had almost completely taken over the professions of intellectuals, lawyers, doctors and more recently judges and public officials. In the seventies, the number of Jews applying for admission to grammar schools was so great that school principals were forced to postpone enrolment of Jews until a few days after the enrolment of Christians, otherwise the schools would have been filled entirely by Jews. In 1878, in Budapest, in the parallel lower classes of the gymnasium, out of 467 pupils, 302 were Jews. The Protestant gymnasium defended itself against the influx of Jews,

that non-believers had to pay twice the tuition fees of Protestants. Most Jews leaving high school enrol in law and medicine. By their loud advertising, the prestige and moral standards of these professions are being profoundly lowered.

In a longer chapter, it describes the trading activities of the Jews and the many varieties of these. He describes the peddler, the market trader and the Jewish merchant. He shows in an interesting way how the Jewish trader leads the ignorant and uninformed villagers into financial ruin. He hangs the worthless trinkets and colourful trinkets, brightly coloured shawls, in the window, on the door, in conspicuous places, so that the passing peasant women and girls can see them. If they have no money, he will give it away for Jewish goods, and even more so for bacon, eggs and grain. In this way, the Jew receives double or triple the price of the worthless goods sold. It is the surest and quickest way to amass wealth. The poor peasant who goes to the Jew for a glass of brandy cannot stop at the third or fourth glass. Eventually, the account grows and grows to such an amount that the poor peasant can no longer pay it, his little house and land are thrown away and he himself becomes a landless pauper.
Neudtwich also recalls the role that Jews play in public and judicial auctions. He tells of the Jewish manoeuvres that ruin the reputation of Hungarian trade abroad. The export of grain and wine is in Jewish hands. Foreign buyers can only obtain these goods through Jews.
In response to his enquiries, the Jews send the finest samples, but the goods delivered are quite poor, and instead of world-famous Hungarian wines, they send out poor, worthless, low-quality wines. Not only in the capital, but also in the rural towns, in those towns of the Hungarian colours where thirty or forty years ago there were no Jews at all, today not only the brandy trade, but every branch of commerce is in the hands of Jews. What is the explanation for this: many say, of course, because Jews sell goods more cheaply, they are content with smaller profits.
They forget that the goods which the Jew sells five per cent cheaper than the Christian are ten per cent inferior and worthless.

The second way Jews made money, borrowing, and the different kinds of usury, are also discussed in detail in Neudtwich's book. The poor peasant who needs money pays the Jew not 12, 20, 30, but 100 per cent interest. The small peasant may have to pay his taxes urgently; he is lent five forints by the Jew, and on condition that he pays ten kroner for every forint he lends, or fifty kroner a week. The pious peasant doesn't even notice the smallness, and somehow pays fifty kroner a week. He does not think of the fact that in 6 years he pays the Jew 26 forints in interest only, more than five times the whole capital, in other words 500 % interest, and at the end he still owes the capital. In most cases, the first five forints are followed by the second and third, and finally the debt has risen to an amount which the debtor can no longer repay. Then comes the auction, and so the Jew buys one house after another, one piece of land after another. Finally, the Jew becomes the owner of half the village, and so it is the Jew who
twenty or thirty years ago, he came to the village with a capital of 2025 forints at most, and today he is the richest landowner in the region.

Jews obviously play the same role in the bodies of peoples as worms do in the human organism. They can wait with incredible patience until the time comes when their victim is in desperate need of money. In any case, one of the most interesting and perhaps the most successful chapters in the book is the one on the occupation of space by the Jewish press and the prevalence of the particular Jewish spirit and methods in the press. Neudtwich sums up the final conclusions of his discussion in the following terms: 'The Jew is a race totally alien to the European peoples, and precisely because of his alien character he can never be assimilated to the peoples who receive him. This alien nature is the cause of the mutual antipathy which persists as long as Jews live among other peoples. Assimilation cannot even be spoken of. Where the number of Jews is very small and where the resistance of the host peoples is great, the antagonism does not become acute, but where their number is large and constantly increasing, where their religion, traditions, morals, customs, sharply separate them from the surrounding peoples, the antagonism, the mutual hatred, is only intensified. The known qualities of Jewry are not acquired, not acquired over time, but are the innate characteristics of a race. Judaism can no more be rid of these characteristics than a cat can be rid of falsehood, a fox of cunning, or a tiger of a ferocious nature. From its first appearance in history, these racial characteristics have faithfully and unchangingly accompanied Judaism through all ages, down to the present day, and are as closely part of its essence as sharp claws and pointed teeth are part of the nature of felines. Neither civilization nor the education, nor their inclusion in Christian society. The Hungarian legislature made a serious mistake when it emancipated these Jews without any conditions, and the problem was compounded by the fact that it did not regulate the further immigration and settlement of Jews at all. The natural consequence of this was that Jews from neighbouring countries, Galicia, Poland, Russia, Romania and Turkey, were drawn towards Hungary. The legislature made an equally grave mistake when it abolished the law prohibiting usury, thus giving the Jews a means of depriving a poor and ignorant people of their last penny with impunity.

How to defend ourselves against Jewish influence is the question Neudtwich also tries to answer in the last chapter of his book: having made the mistake of granting full and unconditional emancipation to the Jews, almost without exception in every country and every parliament, it was necessary to seek means to make up for this mistake. Naturally, the best means of rendering the Jews harmless was considered to be to purge them of their racial character, their nature, by means of a far-reaching interbreeding, a mixture of races. It was believed that through interbreeding the racial characteristics of the Jews would fade away. To this end, therefore, the marriage of Jews and Christians should be promoted by every means possible.

However, reality and facts were soon to disabuse me of this misconception. In all the countries where mixed marriage has long been allowed, we do not see any significant results. Antipathy to the Jews is the first and greatest obstacle to greater intermarriage. The Jews are still the same as they were centuries ago, they have not changed a bit, they exert the same pernicious influence on the people as they used to.

Wherever they settle in groups, they form their own community organisation, mostly just intermarrying. How can one expect any result from intermixture where the Jews live in dense masses, where repulsive types of this obnoxious race predominate. There is a natural instinctive antipathy to the Jew in the people, and nothing can overcome it, so that little can be hoped from intermarriage. Other effective means must therefore be provided, and these may include the following:

1. Every Christian must be bound by an oath never to enter into any business with Jews or in any circumstances with the complicity of Jews.
2. Likewise, every Christian must undertake not to enter into any association with any company, corporation, savings bank, bank or exchange house, or insurance company founded, maintained, or operated by Jews,
3. Every Christian should be obliged not to subscribe to any newspaper owned by a Jew or by a company of Jews, or whose editor is a Jew, or whose editorial staff includes Jews. Only newspapers edited by Christians are accepted in public places, pubs, cafés and restaurants,
4. Every Christian in his private society must strive to eliminate the Jews from it,
5. Immediate action is needed to ensure that every small town has a bank and financial institution to help small farmers, artisans, traders and homeowners when they need it. Finally, in order to break the power of the pernicious Jewish spirit, Neudtwich proposes that the state, with all its power and weight, should forbid the Jews to continue to make the Talmud the main source not only of their religious views, but of their morals and their whole social conduct, from other peoples; secondly, that they should be banned from the profession of lawyers and judges; thirdly, that the Jews should be excluded from the liquor and exchange business in villages as well as in towns; fifthly, that they should be prevented from inheriting property. The land is the most precious possession of all nations, without which no nation can sustain itself, and no liberal ideal can sway us when we must defend the land and the people against the dangers that threaten it.

We conclude our discussion, writes Neudtwich , by calling on the government and all liberal circles in the country to consider the Jewish question while there is still time. Let them study the question diligently, lest it grow on our heads. Let them not start to deal with it when it is too late, when the country will be undermined, the people robbed of everything and driven from their homeland. When a foreign, depraved, and quite immoral people have already taken possession of the country, they will make its rightful rulers and inhabitants helots by every conceivable despicable means and stratagem. For this is what we shall come to, this is what we must come to, if we do not continue to give free rein to the (isms of the Jewish people and if we do not defend the vital interests of the people by every means. Charles Neudtwich has made a valuable contribution to the anti-Semitic press and to parliament. If the passion sometimes takes hold, basing his statements and conclusions on tangible facts, data and evidence. He was among the most qualified members of the party. His versatile and wide-ranging knowledge gave him great authority not only among his political friends but also among his opponents. His speeches attracted general attention. His first speech in the House of Representatives was during the debate on the reply bill. In it, he deplored the system of government and legislation that set up a principle, liberalism, and tailored laws to it, rather than to the interests of the people, of society. It is a completely false notion. For what was the result of this; first the emancipation of the Jews was introduced without any conditions, because libertarianism demanded it; we introduced a completely free and unrestricted industry, and the result was that the industry which had flourished for centuries was ruined throughout the country, and millions of acres of Hungarian land were taken into Jewish hands. The Independence Party keeps on claiming and demanding the independence of the country from Austria and fails to realise that the whole country and its people have been subjected to a much more oppressive and much more shameful yoke. We shall be able to say with great pride that the nation which neither the Turk, nor the Tartar, nor the German could conquer by arms and guile, was conquered and destroyed by the most cowardly and wicked people with bills of exchange and stock exchange papers. It is a well-known fact that thousands and thousands emigrate from the country every year to foreign lands and overseas.

And they emigrate because their livelihoods are taken away from them. He invites his fellow Members to go to Upper Hungary, where they will see how terrible the poverty is. The people are hard-working and thrifty, but they have one fault: their love of brandy. And this immorality was introduced and cultivated by the Jews alone. The Jew has a peculiar talent for discovering the most dangerous passion of the people, and if he has discovered it, he destroys them first morally and then financially. As banks lend money to countries, so the Jews lend liquor to the people, until the debt is increased to almost the amount of the wealth. Like a spider on a fly, they entangle the people so that they cannot move. Those who have enough wealth to pull themselves together and emigrate will do so. The other part is forced to work like a slave for the Jew who has auctioned off his land for himself. He has it much worse, I may say, than the slaves in the South American States.

The issue of emigration was constantly on Neudtwich's agenda. He saw a fatal danger in the process. It was unbearable for him to see tens of thousands of Hungarians, full of life, able to work, willing to work and live honestly, leaving the country for the West and at the same time witnessing the influx of the scum of darkest Galicia. His speeches were mostly unanswered. In the eyes of liberal Hungary, emigration was not a problem worth dealing with. In his interpellation of 26 February 1887, he repeated his questions: is the Prime Minister aware of the emigration of the native Hungarian inhabitants from the counties of Upper Hungary, and if so, what measures does the Prime Minister intend to take to prevent it? At the beginning of his speech on the interpellation he referred to the situation in Upper Hungary. The people in the upper counties are not only ruined materially, but also physically and mentally, to such an extent that they are completely unable to fulfil their obligations to the state. With the pálinka measurements the Jews are destroying this people, first spiritually, then materially and physically. They put the people into debt, when the debt is so great that repayment is no longer possible, they auction off the land, which they thus acquire at a low price, and make the former owner cultivate the land, which he once owned, in a miserable day labour. Humanitarianism can only be applied where it has its place.

To coddle the Jews, to open the borders of the country to them in order to undermine the whole country, to plunder the people, to ruin them and force them to emigrate, is not only a misapplied humanity, but the highest degree of inhumanity. Otherwise, we understand and know the Prime Minister's policy. It is a truth acknowledged throughout the country that the present government cannot last a day without a loan, and that the loan is not and cannot be given by anyone other than the Jewish banker. And the Jewish banker will not give anything if the Hungarian Prime Minister does not give the Jews a free hand to blackmail the people according to their convenience and liking. It seems to me, Mr. House, as if the people of Hungary were rented to the Jews, just as the state property is rented to the Jews.

In addition to those listed above, we should also mention the leaders of the anti-Semitic party: the Reformed pastor, teacher and writer Sámuel Szentmiklóssy Gáborjáni, the parish priest Dénes Probszt, the journalist Emil Szemnecz, a staff member of Independence, the Hungarian State and Constitution, the lawyer Gerzson Szendrey, the lawyer Dr. Géza Rácz, lawyer, and finally Pál Csuzy, landowner, former major-general of hussars, Ferenc Komlóssy, Dr. Catholic pastor and József Veress, Lutheran pastor of Orosháza.

Komlóssy was born in Nagytapolcsány, completed his schooling in Nitra, and was a teacher in Nagyszombat for a long time. From a young age his attention turned to Judaism. In his native place and in Felvidék he was able to become thoroughly acquainted with the

the impact of Judaism on the people. When the anti-Semitic party started, he was one of the first to join it. He was one of the party's most enthusiastic and tireless leaders. He worked primarily on the organisation of the Little Plain and the Highlands. He was sent to the House of Representatives in 1884 by the Verbo district and in 1887 by the Paps district with an anti-Semitic programme. He was one of the more frequent members of the party. He spoke on all important issues. He made his first speech during the debate on the sign proposal. In it he called for a servants' law, according to which a Christian man should not be a slave of a Jew, the Jewish press should be urgently regulated, the drinking-age regal should be redeemed by the municipalities, if the Jew took our money, at least we should not allow him to ruin our people racially, and finally he recommended the introduction of a Jewish tax to cover the deficit in the state budget. As a farmer and as a descendant of a peasant family, he often addresses the plight of the peasantry. On 28 January 1886, he said, the Uplands began to develop into the seat of industry and commerce which, in Hungary's public finances, was already destined by nature to become, alongside the Great Plain. But as the government did not take care of this poor farming class of the Highlands, it happened that since the opening of the floodgates from Galicia, the Jews flooded Upper Hungary, and its people took up the wandering baton and left, moving to America. The people of the Highlands saw that the Jew was prospering everywhere, that he was right in everything, that the Jew, with the hand of the bureaucracy, was helping to destroy the peasantry.

Komlóssy was again invited by Christian Socialist organisations in Vienna and gave successful lectures on the aims of anti-Semitism and the situation of the anti-Semitic movement in Hungary. On 23 September 1887, he gave an impressive speech of nearly two hours to an audience of 2,000 people in the large hall of the Elterlein Casino. First of all, he presented the Hungarian laws that paved the way for the free assertion of Jewishness. These included the Penal Code, the abolition of usury, and the declaration of freedom of industry. Ferenc Deák, who played a major role in the realisation of emancipation, was the godfather of a Jewish child. It is not true that anti-Semitism is antithetical to love of one's neighbour; if we fight to keep Hungary for the Hungarians and not for the Jews, then this is a laudable undertaking for which we deserve only the gratitude of the nation. Can anyone object to this when we already see that half of the country's money is in the hands of the Jews. This ought to be prevented even if the Jews had obtained their great wealth by honest means, and even if we know that they obtained it by immoral and unlawful means. Love for our neighbour should not require us to bring ourselves to ruin. If we are attacked, we have the right to defend ourselves. The present government, enriching the Jew by fraud, rapacity and immorality, is buying him as much, perhaps even more than the natives of Hungary, giving the Jews equal rights and privileges, protecting them, the foreigners, against the suffering, the Hungarian people who have been pumped out. Like the feral mother, the Hungarian ruling party is doing, pushing away the child, the nation, into the darkness of misery. Money is everything today. We are living in the era of the golden calf, not only the Jews, but also the members of our liberal governing party in general and of other parties are lying at the feet of this pale.

After all, I ask is it worth it:
Who are the counterfeiters and forgers, the masters of fraud, embezzlement and usury?
Who are those who form a gang that gives false testimony for money?
Who are the merchants of women and the angel-makers, the operators of the orphanages, the amorehouses, the card-rooms, the founders and proprietors of these institutions?
Most of them are Jews.
Who adulterate food and wine, who produce mineral waters and who swindle the state as libertarians?
Who are those who take the poor servant into their house out of feigned compassion, and finally bring the matter to such a point that the beautiful servant, as a debtor to her master, is morally and physically ruined, who are those who even make good deals abroad with the poor creatures shaken from their necks, and snatch the Hungarian woman as a delicacy?
Who are those who secure their houses well and then burn them down, leaving Christian houses to go up in flames? Who supply the greatest contingent of fences, speculators, swindlers, burglars, pickpockets; who are the greatest promoters of drunkenness, gambling, and depravity?
Who is flying the flag of corruption and breeding prostitution and immorality? No need
to say it, you already know. The Jews!
After Komlóssy's speech, the assembly audience celebrated wildly for a long time. On 8 November 1888, Komlóssy was back in Vienna and once again made a very successful appearance at the anti-Semitic party's general meeting there. On 7 September 1886 in Bucharest

Ferenc Komlóssy also represented the Hungarian anti-Semitic party at the international anti-Semitic congress chaired by Eduard Drumont.

József Veres was elected to Parliament in 1884 with the programme of the anti-Semitic party. Later, after the dissolution of the party, he joined the Independence Party, but he maintained his anti-Semitic principles throughout. He considered the co-operative movement to be one of the most effective means of combating Jewry, and therefore devoted all his time and energy to promoting this idea and endeavour. In his parliamentary speeches, he first and foremost exposed the Jewishisation of our intellectual life and our schools by conscientiously collecting relevant statistical material, and he also warned of the great danger inherent in emigration. I think, Mr. House, that those 13,000 inhabitants of the Highlands from Sáros and Zemplén did not go to America for a change of air, but because they could not make a living here and wanted to earn their living by honest, hard work over the sea. And instead of this hard-working, honest, undemanding people, there comes in a Galician, renegade, fanatic, orthodox people, who are only profiteers, doing business. I believe that this is of no benefit to the people of Hungary, but it is of no benefit to the Jews living in Hungary either, because it is a constant deterrent to their Hungarianisation and their rapprochement with us. These facts amply justify the anxiety which I entertain with regard to the future of Hungary, fearing that this Jewish tide will carry away with it our national character, falsify our national literature, falsify our Christian morals, falsify everything which it has been accustomed to falsify. Whatever the case, t. House, what elements will make up the people of Hungary? Is it indifferent to us to whom the land will be owned? My heart leaps whenever I read how much space has already been occupied by the Jews in a particular county. It is only 17 years since the Jews were emancipated. If it continues like this for another 17 years, where will we end up? I fear that the title of Apostolic King will be eclipsed by the title of King of Jerusalem. Look at the leaders of the press now, mostly Jews, look at the press, mostly Jewish in spirit, persecuting all that is Christian, all that is sacred to us, attacking the church, the government, the monarch, the family, the sacredness of the oath, but if anyone says a word against it, they jump on it and spit on it."

Whenever we hear the opposite side of the argument saying that it is boring or ridiculous, I am reminded of the case of Paul the Great, who wanted to speak about improving the condition of the serfs, but was shouted: Non stultiset domine! i.e. don't go mad, but later Kossuth and Széchenyi became the founders of the constitution of Hungary. I believe that, even if they say to us today: non stultiset, the time will come when these arguments will no longer be regarded as boring and ridiculous frenzy, but as something worthy of serious discussion; that time will come, because it must come if the development of the Hungarian nation is to continue in peace. We desire peace, order and justice. We want equality in law, but we add equality in duty; we want liberty in law, and we add liberty within the bounds of honour; we want fraternity in the mutual judgement of each other's opinions. I consider a serious discussion of the Jewish question to be necessary, unavoidable and unpasturable. (Loud cheers from the left. Members on the left shook hands with the speakers. Loud cheers from the right, Kálmán Tisza's liberal party.)

The great success of the anti-Semitic party during the debate on the sign proposal and its profound impact on public opinion led the forces opposing the party to exert increasing pressure to make it difficult for it to operate. These forces, with the entire official apparatus of the government, were the Libertarian Party itself, the moderate opposition of Independence and Apponyi, the aristocracy, the Jewish big capitalism allied with it, the secularised press and a certain section of the upper clergy. Tisza's behaviour was guided by political prejudices, the parties feared for their popularity and their mandate, the aristocracy, part of which had financial and kinship ties with the Jewish plutocracy, found it inconvenient to keep the Jewish question on the agenda, and the social aspirations of the anti-Semites were not looked upon favourably. Under Apponyi's influence, the Catholic clergy took a stand, albeit not officially, against the anti-Semitic party, thus exerting moral pressure on the lower clergy, who in many places sympathised with the anti-Semites and influenced the people in this direction in the elections. Although this action of the high clergy was not entirely successful, it was more problematic that the Jewish-free Christian daily newspapers in the capital were forced by the wishes of the Church to cut off the publicity of the anti-Semitic party (Magyar Állam, Christian Hungary.) The only daily newspaper through which the anti-Semitic policy could still get a voice was the Independence. However, Verhovay did not work closely with the anti-Semitic party either.
Ónody, Károly Szalay and a few others raised the capital needed to start a daily newspaper. The founding of the newspaper

During the negotiations, however, internal differences arose within the party, both over the political direction of the paper and its management and staff. A personal and social vendetta was launched against some members of the party. The hostile, or at best indifferent, attitude of the press has slowly led to a decline in public interest in the work of the party. And although the instinctive anti-Semitic tendencies of the masses remained unchanged, the further development of party organisation stalled. After the familiar Hungarian characteristic of sudden impetus, ambition and feverish enthusiasm, fatigue, exhaustion and indifference took hold of the leading strata. Hungarian Christian society was not up to its vocation: Moral cowardice, indifference, indifference, short-sightedness, senselessness, the almost total lack of willingness to sacrifice, discouragement at the failure to achieve quick success, these are the curses of our society, which is anti-Semitic at heart, writes Győző Istóczy. In this respect, we could learn from the Jews how a people, even in a state of utter exhaustion, must and can not only shake off the shackles placed on its hands and feet with cohesion, tenacity, intelligence, strength, enthusiasm for the common goal and willingness to sacrifice, but also replace its despised pariah status with the role of the dreaded tyrant.

The turmoil within the party eventually leads Istóczy to leave his own party. The new party leader, Károly Szalay, is not the right person to lead and unite a party made up of opposing elements. Istóczy saw the main reason for the persistent internal crisis and decline in the party as the fact that it had been formed by two groups of opposing views on public law. In his view, the only way to solve the crisis was to form two separate anti-Semitic parties. In this case, everyone would be able to join a group of the same public opinion. According to Istóczy's idea, the anti-Semitic party based on reconciliation should conquer the Highlands and the Danube region, and the independence anti-Semitic party the Great Plain. In addition to Istóczy, the former was joined by Zimándy, Komlóssy, Pál Csuzy and later Károly Neudtwich. The programme of the new party was essentially the same as that established when the anti-Semitic party was formed. Istóczy's action may have been in good faith, and he certainly decided to found a new party after the most honest motives and considerations, but events and consequences did not justify him. Not only did the split anti-Semitism not grow stronger, it was even more weakened than before.

The forces were fragmented and the party's authority plummeted. Istóczy himself later realised his mistake. He repeatedly tried to unite the anti-Semitic representatives, who were scattered in different parties, in a common framework. But his attempts were more or less unsuccessful. As early as the autumn of 1886, Istóczy initiated the formation of a joint executive committee by the two anti-Semitic groups in view of the forthcoming elections. This was in fact a revival of the old united party framework. It turned out that the split did not lead to an increase in strength. It also turned out that it was a mistake to align anti-Semitism with public opinion and organise it on the basis of public law. Until then, the party's strength and significance lay precisely in the fact that it had put economic and social issues first, relegating the principle and programme of public law to the background.

This is what made it different from the other parties and what ensured its legitimacy. The manifesto issued by the new joint executive committee is also dominated by these issues.

All those voters, says the manifesto, who are dissatisfied with the present government, which cherishes Jewish interests in everything and gives Jews a completely free hand, and who therefore want another government which is able and willing to break the power of the Jews as a social and political factor:

all those who do not want the land to fall in relatively short time into Jewish hands, the Hungarian farmers to become the drudges of the plundering, usurious Jews, and the industrialists to become the miserable wage-earners of the Jewish entrepreneurs, who work with large capital but are not skilled in their craft,

all those who wish to see the commercial, financial and credit institutions taken out of the hands of the Jews, who have almost completely taken control of them, and these lucrative branches of business placed in the hands of Christian Hungarians,

all those who do not want the Jews, who are increasingly overrunning the institutions of higher learning, to drive educated Hungarians out of offices, out of the practice of law and medicine, out of farming, technical and other lucrative occupations,

all those who seek to change the civil, penal, exchange and other laws enacted and applied in the spirit and interests of the Jewish power, in a manner consistent with the spirit and interests of the Hungarian people,

all those who do not want Hungary, under the present government and its party, to become a Jewish country in a few decades' time, in which their children and grandchildren will be the hirelings and servants of the Jews, but want this country to remain the property of the Hungarians, and their descendants to remember them with reverence for having left a prosperous and happy homeland for their children and grandchildren, should contact the central executive of the Anti-Semitic Party

committee.

Before the 1887 elections, the anti-Semitic party was again very concerned about the lack of candidates. Instead of a hundred and a hundred and fifty districts, the party was able to put forward suitable candidates in only forty or fifty districts. During the election agitation, the anti-Semitic candidates' manifesto speeches included the abolition of Freemasonry, the building of a cooperative organisation, a review of emancipation, a ban on Jewish immigration and so on. However, only 11 MPs were elected in the elections. Among those who were caught were several valuable members of the party, Verhovay, Neudtwicht and Andreansky. The newcomers, János Kudik, Gyula Svastics and Lajos Szabó, could not replace the tried and tested old fighters.

What was the reason for the failure? This was a long-standing question for the party leaders. There were also those who disapproved of the party's name. On the basis that many people cannot openly join the party as long as it is so aggressive in name. It was also hoped that perhaps the pressure from the government would be eased if the party adopted a new name. How the party should behave in the future was another question that needed to be answered. Many argued that it would be best if the party retreated into passivity. Istóczy himself was inclined to this position. This was his view that the emphasis should be on social activity rather than political activity. He considered it particularly important to support the cooperative movement.

At the beginning of 1890, Kálmán Tisza, the Hungarian anti-Semitic party's most determined and determined opponent, was finally overthrown. His departure from the prime ministership, however, came too late for the anti-Semitic party to regroup. Although Istóczy attempted to reorganise the party and to found a daily newspaper with an explicitly anti-Semitic slant, his appeals were not successful. By the 1892 elections, the anti-Semitic representatives had developed a common programme and set up a common central election office, but they no longer existed as a separate party. Among the well-known anti-Semitic politicians who were elected were Istóczy, Hortoványi, Peress, Ónody, Andreánszky and Károly Szalay. But in the next election, in 1897, Győző Istóczy did not stand either, and with his absence anti-Semitism as a political aspiration and programme was not to be heard again for almost a quarter of a century, neither in the House of Representatives nor in any other forum of Hungarian political life. This quarter of a century is also remembered in our history as the period of the complete and unrestricted economic, intellectual and political domination of Hungarian Jewry.

Ónody's appearance in Parliament.

Ónody, as mentioned above, started his political career in the Independence Party and later became one of the first founders of the Anti-Semitic Party. He was one of Istóczy's most respected collaborators. While maintaining his independence principles, he worked tirelessly to create an anti-Semitic united front. As long as his will and influence prevailed in the party, there was no split. Later, he was one of the most ardent advocates of the newer unification efforts. His speeches were characterised by moderation, but also by vigour and courage. In keeping with the oratorical conception of the time, there was a certain pathos in his speeches, but it never became a tide. We have already spoken about his speeches on the Tiszaeszlár affair, but here we want to introduce the parliamentary orator Ónody on the basis of his speeches on two other occasions. During the hearing of the petition in Tapolca, Ónody entered into a debate with those who opposed the solution of the Jewish question on the grounds of equality of rights. Equality of rights cannot be sought in the fact that certain classes, by means of usury, perjury and every conceivable trick and cunning permitted by Talmudic morality, are day after day, constantly destroying and impoverishing us. The nation granted in a blithe moment of self-indulgence in the T.C. XVII of 1867, the equality of rights without examining its conditions. The whole law, which consists of five and a half lines, was passed just as the 60 million forint State railway loan was being contracted. On other occasions, Ónody states that, although he is a firm believer in the idea of independence, he makes no secret of the fact that the danger lies not only in the state community but also in the social and political assertion of Jewish power. We must strive to free ourselves from it just as we must free ourselves from the state community with Austria. The idea of an independent Hungary must be maintained not for a Jewishised Hungary, but for the pure Hungarian race. He also addressed the role of the Jews in the press on several occasions. Today's press views the state of affairs through kosher eyes, writing not as the people feel, but as Judea sees fit. It draws from the wellsprings of science and public culture not to sober, but to intoxicate. The press of today is not the guardian of the Hungarian public spirit, but of Jewish interests. Anti-Semites cannot be accused of racial and religious hatred if they are not in line with Jewish moral concepts and

speak out against the direction of the Jewish world-view as it is being enforced in the press, if they point out the abuses committed by the Jews, if they point out how the Jews are dragging the Hungarian judiciary before foreign countries, how they are making a mockery of the Hungarian administration, and how they are calling the Minister of Justice, who has grown old in the service of his country and in merit, the head of a ritual gang of criminals.

For a while after the dissolution of the anti-Semitic party, Ónody continued to play a role in political life within the Independence Party. But he was unable to establish himself there. He became discouraged. He withdrew from political life and became a quiet man. He farmed on the family estate for the rest of his life.

IRODALOM:

Géza Ónody. Eszlar Tisza in the past and in the present.
Ignác Zimándy: Awakening voices (articles, speeches). Vol.I-XIV.
Neudtwich Károly (Dr Ulrich von Hutten): Judaism in Austria-Hungary.

---- for the second part ----

THE HUNGARIAN FAJVÉDELEM TRAVELLERS Part 2

Iván Simonyi's

Worldview.

Iván Simonyi is one of the most interesting and original personalities not only of the Hungarian anti-Semitic movement, but also of the public life of the 1980s. He was one of the few people who could completely detach themselves from the dominant slogans, false phrases and distorted ideology of his time. Ivan Simonyi saw things through his own eyes, thought through events and their consequences with his own mind. He always tried to get to the bottom of things, to look for the ultimate causes and to unravel the clear connections. He was always independent in his opinions and judgements. Although he studied philosophy, jurisprudence, history, pedagogy, social science and economics, the principles and knowledge he acquired did not influence his ideas.

He has adapted his individual social life and behaviour to the principles and truths he has created for himself. These principles and truths, which he believed to be right, just and good, governed his actions and his attitudes. If we analyse the basic features of his world-view, we discover that they are in fact in direct contrast to the whole system of thought of liberalism, and that he is the first to have systematised the ideas of the defence of the modern Hungarian race. Simonyi has rejected liberalism in the strongest terms, a liberalism that lives itself out only in convoluted phrases, uttering slogans that are inexorably contradicted by reality.

They talk of freedom and condemn the masses to a life of slavery, they talk of equality and at the same time the gaps between classes and strata are darkened, they talk of brotherhood and at the same time a whole series of social conflicts divide national society into interest groups. Liberalism utters slogans that it does not believe to be true. The excesses of individualism, the cult of individualism, the overestimation of the role and importance of the individual, have led to individual selfishness becoming the main principle and goal of social life. The higher laws and ideals of communal life were pushed into the background. The conviction became widespread that the state, culture, law, justice and civilisation were all for the individual, who had no higher interest and could have no higher interest. The economic aspect of political liberalism, its economic way of life, is capitalism, the rule of speculative mobile capital, whose basic law of free competition is a modern 19th century form of moral law. This liberal capitalist system has a single principle: to increase profit and profit to the utmost. And here, it made no difference that behind the golden glitter of profit, the misery, suffering and misery of millions of people is obscured. No less false and hypocritical is the political system and the institution of liberalism, parliamentaryism based on the majority principle. By what means and by what means are these majorities created? How often, in most cases what happens in parliaments is far removed from the real national interest. With a pencil, with a pencil, they are simply dividing the country into constituencies. Money, luck and connections give seats to those who least deserve them. And they pass laws that have nothing to do with real national needs. And all that is happening in the political, social and economic spheres is being done with reference to the sacred slogan of humanism.

However, Iván Simonyi, in contrast to the lying hypocritical ideology of liberalism, has put forward his own clear, lucid and natural system of values. The basis of national existence is the land and the people. We must not allow the land to be reduced to a commodity, to an object of profiteering and speculation. It is the land that gives us our daily bread and it is the people who live off the land who give us the regruta to defend the country. The threat of debt must be removed from the land. The land itself should not be encumbered, mortgaged or mortgaged, but only its income. "Save the landed estate!" is a recurring thought in his articles and speeches. "We must also protect the people. ' On the dog, we trace the family tree far back, on the horse we make it even more carefully. We breed chickens, pigeons, sheep, pigs, cattle. Strange! We prefer not to do the same to people and thus to take in hand the most important means of raising human welfare and happiness. The voice of a humble country paper remains, of course, a cry in the wilderness. It is, in fact, a recognition of the importance of modern species health, of biological species protection. In the face of the excesses of capitalism, we must not be alienated from socialism, Simonyi said. The future belongs to socialism, to social principles. It depends on us whether social transformation takes place without shocks and crises or with violence, blood and revolution. Socialism cannot be evaded. Our social life must be dominated by the idea of service to the community. We must also exclude rootless foreign liberal elements from our constitutional life and institutions and return to the Hungarian public law tradition. We must replace the parliamentary majority system, which has given rise to so many perverse and pathological social phenomena, with a system of representation and legislation based on the order of occupations.

His views on the Jewish question fit neatly into this system of thought. His anti-Semitism was not the result of a superficial emotional reaction, but was based on a world view. That is why he could not separate the solution of the Jewish question from a radical transformation of our internal social, economic and political system. He was fully aware that a society built on liberal moral and political principles could not cope with the Jewish question.

In his articles and speeches he almost always touched on the Jewish question. He summarized his principles in articles written in June-September 1882. At first sight, these articles seem to suggest that he was in favour of the assimilation of the Jews. In reality, however, he had little hope of this, for he was well aware of the alien nationality and race of the Jews. In one of his articles he asks the question: Is there a Jewish question? This question is particularly resonant, he writes. In Hungary, the answer is usually no, and if there is no Jewish question, it cannot be resolved. The Jews, who occupy the most exclusive place in the state, are nevertheless endeavouring to eradicate even the word 'Jew' from public use, and have miraculously succeeded in doing so to such an extent that even non-Jews consider it indecent to talk about the existence of Jews. Even in print, the word 'Jew' is barely legible. Yet it is strange that not a single newspaper says that it is a newspaper of Jewish interests. On the contrary, these newspapers do not hesitate to proclaim that their programme is perfectly identical with that of the welfare of the country, of the majority, of progress and humanism, but at the same time these Jewish newspapers are working for capitalism and

together they are fighting for Jewish interests. The fact that the Jews try to obscure reality does not change this. The Jewish newspapers write column after column about trivial, meaningless things, but not a single line about the fate and situation of the Hungarian land. Yet this ostrich policy makes little sense. Jews should also realise that anti-Semitism is not a temporary phenomenon. It was not artificially planted on us, it was created here. Its fermentation cannot be stifled.
Brainstorming doesn't help. Jewry will have to pay bitterly once again. The situation should not be allowed to escalate. Social unrest and anti-Semitism will grow rapidly. Money here is becoming more and more in Jewish hands, and trees can no longer grow to the sky. The instincts of the masses against capitalism are growing stronger. Jews today support the ruling system. And with good reason, since they receive a significant part of the country's profits. It is therefore no wonder that the Jews are the most ardent champions of the present state of affairs. The Jews want to arrest the course of the world.
They want to grab hold of the spokes of the wheel of world history to stop it from turning further, The Jews have now become the agents of backwardness. What should we do with the Jews, should we perhaps expel them to Palestine? The situation would not change if non-Jews sat in their place and did the same. And would they not? Those who believe this only prove that they do not know life.

Anti-Semitism is nothing more than an instinctive reaction to the immoral practices of capitalism, a protest against lying parliamentarism. The general perception is that the Jews are responsible for much of the prevailing backwardness. Our own sins are ignored. Let us not hold the Jews responsible for things we could have done to stop, but we have not lifted a finger to do so. The root of our ills lies in faulty social and economic principles and political formalism. This is not to say, of course, that Jews are free from sin... As we can see from these fragments of thought, Simonyi did not look at the Jewish question in isolation, and he envisaged its solution in the context of a general economic, social and political transformation.

His life and personality.

He was a man of many interests and a rich intellect.
Not only was he at home and confident in legal and economic matters, but he could also dissect the most remote philosophical questions with ease. Not only did he go his own way on political, economic and social issues, but he also took an unusual and independent stance on the small, everyday matters of life. He had his own particular views on Catholic autonomy, on the relationship between church and state, and on the marriage of priests and military officers. In particular, he disapproved of the prevailing educational ideas and systems. He was honest, firm and outspoken in his own convictions, but he also respected the convictions of others. In his speeches, he gave little attention to logical structure, coherence and connection. Hence they have a choppy and rhapsodic effect. In his articles and writings, however, ideas line up crystal clear. As the publisher and editor of a German-language daily newspaper, and a sincere admirer of German intellectual life and culture, who considered it of paramount importance to build intellectual links with Germanism, he was, in politics, a follower of the ideas of the Kossuth 48. This political programme was to be maintained to the end, because he could only envisage the well-being and prosperity of the Hungarian people if the public-law ties with Austria were broken.
However, he did not consider these issues to be a matter of pressing urgency. Public law issues were hardly

spoke. Simonyi, though eccentric in nature, was also an amiable and direct personality. He took a lively part in the social life of Bratislava. He had a warm friendship with his political friends, especially Istóczy. As a journalist and editor, he produced his newspaper with great care and ingenuity, which was one of the most prestigious in the country, and at one time was even sent to neighbouring Austria, precisely because of its anti-Semitic tendencies.

The Simonyi family is an old noble family, which traces its lineage back to the Árpáds. The nobility of the family comes from the village of Simony in Bars County. Ivan was born on 15 December 1836. His father was a deputy bailiff in the forties. He brought up his children with care and attention. Iván was educated in Pest and Bratislava, then studied law in Vienna. During the absolutist period he was not allowed to hold any office and joined the Radetzky Hussars.
He is discharged as a lieutenant and settles in Vienna. In 1875, he founded the Westungarische Grenzbot together with Mór Jókai and Ede Horn. After Ede Horn's death and Mór Jókai's departure, the paper remained in Simonyi's hands until his death. He kept and managed the paper until his death. His articles were published every three or four days. During the World War, when his successor Ivan and his son retired, it was taken over by a group of Bratislava citizens, some of them with Jewish interests. During the Czech occupation the paper was called Grenzbot and was in Czech hands. Schickert, who in his work gives an extensive tribute to Simonyi, describes his photograph as a large, well-shaped head with a rounded shoulders and bright, clear blue eyes, which give the face a complete frankness. His personality was distinctive. The good citizens of Bratislava paid tribute to his merits, and even today there is a Simonyi row in Bratislava. They were well aware of his eccentric habits and referred to him only as the eccentric Simonyi.
In winter and summer he bathed daily in the Danube. He always trained himself and raised his children in the same way. His character is unyielding to the point of self-sacrifice, he knows no middle way, no bribery. He made no fortune, though he flourished his paper entirely by himself. At one time it had 34 000 subscribers. His fight against Jewry was a purely theoretical one. He maintained personal relations with the Jews, and enjoyed a high reputation among them. In 1878, he was elected as a representative of the district of Galanta, and later of the district of Magyaróvár. He spoke German impeccably and fluently. At home, however, he spoke only Hungarian and brought up his children in the same spirit. Although his newspaper was written primarily for native German speakers, Simonyi never ceased to stress that his main goal was the prosperity, freedom and independence of Hungary.
He loved Wagner, Dühring and Nietzsche, but hated Schopenhauer, who he said had taken away people's zest for life and educated them to evil and nihilism.

His ideas and thoughts were at least half a century ahead of his time. To a certain extent, it is understandable that his own age and public opinion should have been perplexed and alienated from him. Only a select few have been allowed to truly understand him.

Its place and role in the antisemitic movement.

Iván Simonyi played a very special role in the anti-Semitic movements of the 1980s. Next to Istóczy, he was undoubtedly the main intellectual driving force and ideologist of the movement. While his role in the party organisation was subordinate, he played a leading role in defining the intellectual aspirations. He played a significant role in the popularity of the anti-Semitic party among the more politically educated classes. And the movement's political opponents saw the new party as a dangerous competitor. It was one of the first to enter into closer cooperation with Istóczy. There was complete agreement on everything between them. He was one of the vice-presidents of the anti-Semitic party formed under Istóczy. Together they also worked out the programme of the new party. It was to Simonyi's considerable credit that the party members, who had previously professed liberal principles, slowly freed themselves from the influence of liberal slogans.

Simonyi's closer ties with the anti-Semitic movement began in July 1882, when his aforementioned articles on the Jewish question appeared in his newspaper, the Westungarischer Gronzbote (The Poor Jews, Is Anti-Semitism a Transient Phenomenon? What will happen to the Jews in the future? On the occasion of the publication of these articles, Istóczy's supporters in Bratislava presented Simonyi with a gold pen. In the autumn of the same year Simonyi had already taken part in the International Anti-Semitic Congress in Dresden, where he acted as Hungarian vice-president and delivered one of the most powerful speeches: 'The Jewish people, which constitutes only a negligible percentage of the other peoples, has in a short time been able to seize the main credit institutions, the main transport institutions and the press for the most part. In addition to these, and chiefly by their solidarity, the Jews, though living only as parasites among the other peoples, have been able to secure for themselves an influence and even a dominion which is not equal to that of the legitimate government of a state. For thirty years this domination has been felt more and more oppressively. Only now are the people beginning to wake up to this domination. If anyone has dared to ask whether this domination promotes our national moral ideals, the Jews have complained of intolerance and violence. Our modern institutions have handed the reigns of power directly to the Jews. Imagine a large territory inhabited by a few hundred thousand people. Suppose that all these people act and manage according to their own will. And suppose now that only two hundred people were united and could only provide themselves with good weapons and aids. It is certain that two hundred men obeying one will can rule over hundreds of thousands scattered over the earth. Judaism forms a phalanx which is always ready for battle against other atomized societies. Already in the era of oppression they have gained possession of capital; in capitalist times it is easy for them to multiply their capital and thus consolidate their power. The Jews, the gentiles, carry on their struggle with unparalleled ruthlessness, and this is the danger for us, for they, filled with love for their race, believe that by this ruthless struggle they are accomplishing a beautiful, a noble deed. Under these circumstances, anti-Semitism is nothing other than a rebellion or reaction, and a healthy reaction against capitalism and its excesses, a rebellion against individualism and its corrupting effects, a reaction against empty parliamentary formalism. The Jewish question can only be resolved if we are able to transform the present situation completely. We must convince public opinion that Jewish domination is a consequence of our present political and social conditions. The Jews are fighting with the greatest fervour to maintain the present conditions. What a dirty conservatism they are striving for. The conservatives of feudalism are at least fighting for the domination of power, at least for a lofty ideal. But the conservatism of the Jews is fighting for the rule of the moneybags. They want to obscure the day of truth with newsprint and stock market paper so that the golden calf shines alone and all the brighter. During the hearing of the Tapolca petition in the Chamber of Deputies, he made another, longer speech. He stressed that he was fighting against Jewry above all because Byzantineism was being spread in a planned and self-conscious manner. They had already seized 85 per cent of the press. The pious citizen thinks that there are all kinds of newspapers, pro-government, pro-independence, and that the debate between them will tell us what is right. But all these papers are fighting for the interests of the Jews, albeit in different forms, one is more in the interests of the Jewish money aristocracy, another in the voice of the old board judges, a third takes on the mantle of the democrats, a fourth fights under the banner of the independence party, but the first is the Jewish interest, to which all other interests are subordinated.

But that would not be a problem, the Jews believe that they can only maintain their rule by corrupting the gentile, and the Jewish spirit has already penetrated everywhere.

At the International Anti-Semitic Congress held in Chemnitz in April 1883, Iván Simányi represented the Hungarian anti-Semitic movement. In his speech on the situation and prospects of anti-Semitism, he pointed out that this movement was not the affair of one class or one group or one political party, but the place of all classes and strata, each of whom must rebel against a social order, whose patrons are the Jews, a social order which has already partially achieved the most profligate materialism and in which the victor will not be the strongest, but firstly, the one with the most money, secondly, the cunning, the meaner, and often the coward. During the discussion of the Jewish-Christian marriage bill, he took issue with the notion that the assimilation of the Jews was in the interests of the Hungarian nation. Many people expect this proposal to eliminate anti-Semitism, but it will have the opposite effect.
Can such proposals and plans destroy anti-Semitism? So what is anti-Semitism? He asks the question. If anti-Semitism is not a corollary of the laws governing the life of human society, if anti-Semitism is to be other or other than a defence, an awakening, a revolt of the national genius against Jewish foreign domination, if it is other than healthy modern progress, then let the vanguard of this movement fall and fall with ignominy and ignominy. But if anti-Semitism is a consequence of the laws governing human society, an awakening of national genius, a manifestation of progress, then no one should dare to cling to the wheels of the age, for otherwise these wheels will crush the resistance to death, whether they call the resistance the Hungarian government or Jewry. When the government was forced to withdraw the proposal from the agenda due to the opposition of the House of Lords, Simonyi once again spoke on the issue. The rule of the moneybags is a new age, he said, among other things. Anti-Semitism, too, should be classed not as a revolutionary movement but as a reform movement. We must never forget which class it is that wants to maintain the present state of affairs, so that capital and business rule and power remains with those who, by virtue of their innate ability to do business, remain in possession of capital. The liberty and liberalism of this class is nothing other than the rule of capital, or in other words of the stock exchange. Anti-Semitism is nothing other than a movement which is a struggle of equality against the domination of a class, a struggle of progress against spiritual darkness, a struggle of brotherly love against ruthless, immoral individual selfishness, a struggle of freedom against pseudo-liberalism.

Finally, we quote a few thoughts from Iván Simonyi's reply to the motion for a resolution, which he submitted to the House of Representatives at the opening of the 1884-1887 Parliament: 'The lying estates should not be treated as if they were the land of the stock exchange. The provisions in force in respect of landed estates violate the principle of equality. They give an advantage to mobile capital, to the land and its cultivator, and make capital the master. Instead of the most expensive institutions of our country and their development in the spirit of progress and humanism, we see the domination of capital, we must see that it is primarily business that succeeds and that is the honest, both physical and intellectual, work that is responsible. Our present public and private law is not a product of our thousand-year-old constitution. Even before emancipation, the Jews were already in possession of a great deal of mobile capital. For thousands of generations, it may be said, it not only inherited, but unilaterally and extremely developed, at the expense of other human ends and possessions, the excellent business ability which is its national character. The possessors of mobile capital and skilful businessmen became masters of large national and small banks and credit institutions. They thus hold in their hands the circulation of money and the business of credit, which are so important in our time. The Jews are using all their influence to prevent us from creating an agrarian law and an industrial order. More and more...

we are approaching a situation in which a small class of rich people will be confronted by an ever larger mass of proletariat. The Jews, who are instinctively and consciously working for the disintegration of gentile society, are by design promoting the efforts of extreme social-democratic and anarchic movements to destroy the existing institutions. The same class in turn seeks to incite the workers against other classes. In times of ultimate danger, the Jews are more able to save their property and their persons than other citizens of the state.

So extensive and varied are the ways and means of Jewry, so great is the Jewish influence, so great is the secretly operating Jewry, that from our higher scientific institutions, from our literature, everything is being driven out which is incompatible with the morals of Israel, with the power of Israel. If the nation reacts against the fatal influence which the Jews exert, it is only a sign that the people has not yet become senile, has not yet lost its national character.

His work as a journalist.

For nearly three decades he managed his newspaper, W. Grenzbot. During this time he wrote hundreds of articles on a wide variety of subjects. In every article, whether he was addressing a topical issue or exploring a point of principle, he always had original ideas. The subject he dealt with was thorough, detailed and illuminating from all sides. He devotes a whole series of articles to a particular issue, often writing about it with a competence that goes far beyond that of the experts. His articles often have a considerable impact and his findings are the subject of lively debate. Some of his speeches and articles have been published in booklets. The following are some of his typical thoughts, in order to give a more complete picture of his spirit and ideas.

He published one of his speeches to Parliament in 1881 under the title "Let us save the Hungarian landed property". At the core of the nation was the landowning class, long deprived of political rights. After its liberation, it was ignored, and no thought was given to what would happen to it afterwards. Moving capital came to dominate. It was not those who were braver, more honest, more virtuous, who prevailed, but those who had more money. Most of them were people who had no honour, no compassion, no mercy. Our greatest asset is our lying estate. Farmers are those who sacrifice blood and money for their country, those who love their country the most. Hungary will fall victim to the rule of phrases and fashion imitation. Our middle landowning class has already ceased to exist, the bourgeoisie is on the same path, but poverty is also spreading among the peasant class. Between 1868 and 1872, 1,000 estates worth 10 million crowns a year were auctioned, and between 1878 and 1879, 12,000 estates worth 50 million crowns. Emigration is on the increase, with not only the poor but also the wealthier fleeing. The number of officials who are forced to leave the country is in the thousands.

After 10-14 years of schooling, they get enough that a literate businessman can get it in a minute.

The earth is more important than anything. It is more important than a piece of paper or a bill of exchange that is taken to the stock exchange and sold. The land provides the bread, the money and the blood of those who sacrifice. Today the land is enslaved to capital. Capital and usury are destroying the nation, the situation today is worse than the old slavery. Land must be preserved for the family. Property must not be sold below its value and laws must be passed against usury. Above all, the rule of slogans must be broken.

He published an interesting paper in 1884 entitled The Jewish Question and the Future of our Nation. Here again he starts from the crisis of the peasant and landowning class. The middle and small landowners

soon becomes the taxpayer of capital and the money robot of capital. We have bankruptcy, bills of exchange, commercial law, but no agrarian law. While national life was stifled in Hungary, the Jews had acquired a far-reaching influence in all spheres of national life. After the Compromise, the governments set to work without any plan or foresight, the material strength of the country was exhausted, its moral strength weakened, the decline of the country occurred, all ties were loosened. There is always talk of progress, but it is nothing more than the privileging of mobile capital. The serf has been freed from the power of the landlord to become the slave of the Jew. The only way to remedy the problem is to build on entirely new foundations. Today, the only choices are time, advertising and money, and all this favours the Jews. The English and Belgian constitutions have been mechanically copied. Our laws are also alien to Hungarian law, which is understandable, because most of our lawmakers are Jews who have been baptised out. In our country, many people already believe that Jews go hand in hand with age and progress, and that Jews are the promoters of progress. On this basis we have recklessly granted them full citizenship. We now know that the Jew is quite alien to us, that he has a different mentality and a different morality. The common people will not marry a Jew. In short, they are alien and dangerous to our Jewish homeland. It erodes prestige, upsets order, degenerates society, and makes speculation and money dominant. If there is one thing in the world that knows no bounds, it is the insolence of the Jews. It is vanity, cowardice, petty envy, bitterness, evil passions, on which Jewry builds. What Judaism praises, what it pays attention to, is surely evil. The fight against them will not be easy, it will require self-sacrifice, courage and solidarity. It is a tactic to intimidate, just not to be openly principled by anti-Semites. What is certain is that if we do not have the courage to stand up to vile Jewish tactics, the nation will not avoid an inglorious death.

A study entitled Der Judentum und die parlamentarische Komödie, published in 1883, is very similar in its line of thought. The modern instrument of power
is in the hands of the Jews. If we look behind the scenes, we see that the power of Jewry is much greater than that of the legislature. Anti-Semitism is a reaction against Jewish domination, and is therefore a reaction against the rise of capitalism, social economic individualism, political formalism and corruption. The Jewish question is not a religious question, but a racial, social and political question, even a question of power.
It's simply about the fight against gentrification.

Finally, we quote the leading thoughts of the 1880 study National Tragicomedy: "Phrase, template and empty doctrine reign supreme. The movements and struggles of the future will revolve around the crisis brought about by the errors of liberalism. After the rapture of freedom come the dictators. For freedom has given humanity priceless goods, but also sad mistakes. One of the main errors of liberalism is the majority principle and everything that goes with it. Among the people of capital, profit alone is the guiding principle, there is no corporative spirit. Ideas must be rallied around, and for this ideal all sacrifices must be made. Liberalism's weakest point is its many phrases, its individualism, its pseudo-humanism, its political hypocrisy. Tisza is not the main problem, nor is the common cause. The fatal problem is when a nation is sick inside. It feels the symptoms of its illness, but does not dare to admit it. These are the pathological signs of the nation's body: the destruction of the middle class, the hollow forms of our main constitutional institutions, our economic decline, and finally, the fact that we view these ills with despondency and fatalism. Who got rich in Hungary in the last 20-30 years? First of all, a lot of loan sharks, speculators of all kinds, businessmen, a few Fezzars and those who have been able to use public jobs to make fortunes, a few pretenders who know how to fleece the people, a few capitalists who have come in from abroad, who have bought up vast tracts of land at cheap prices and exploited its treasures for the benefit of their companies. Despite these aberrations, the Hungarian race itself untouched, although we have a lot of pathos in our veins, but we also have the forces of state-building. Today's parliamentary system also needs to be dismantled. Besides, humanity cannot tolerate it much longer. What impresses mankind is its resolute strength, courage and power. Parliamentary farce bears the symbols of lies, weakness and cowardice, and is boring and expensive. The people would certainly be much more willing to tolerate open and honest absolutism than this constitutional farce. No great statesman will attach his name to such a system, which posterity will condemn most sharply, whether socialist, conservative or reactionary.

These fragments of thought suggest that Iván Simonyi was a man of exceptional ability and great political insight, who rose far above the known political greats of his time, who boldly and with the fervour of inner conviction proclaimed his political, social and economic views. His ideas are sometimes not all clearly defined, but behind them we sense a modern racial, popular and social Hungary. Simonyi's anti-Semitism was not an end in itself, a separate programme, an ambition, but an integral part of a political, economic and social system of thought which was not the programme of a political party, but a healthy reaction to the bankruptcy, decay and disintegration of liberal politics. One cannot read Simonyi's articles and speeches without feeling amazement and astonishment. He is an individual of equally rare talent for discerning the essence, for seeing the connections, for discerning the consequence, for foreseeing the ultimate development. How the celebrated and acknowledged political greats of the time dwarf and dwarf him. Although Simonyi's name has not found its way into the annals of official historiography, his ideas and teachings nevertheless secure for him an exceptional place in the history of the struggles for the new Hungary.

IRODALOM:
Articles and speeches by Iván Simonyi:
Save the Hungarian landowner! A national tragicomedy.
Die Wahrheit über die Judenfrage (The truth about the Jewish question). The Jewish question and the future of our nation
Judaism and the parlementary comedy.

Vadnay Andor

The Tapolca application.

On 30 July 1882, in Tapolca, there was great excitement. Word spread that the leading figures of the district with anti-Jewish sentiments were to hold a private but large-scale meeting the following day, which was announced to the authorities and invitations with their names had been sent out days before. The Jews, clustered in groups of 40 or 50, read the invitations with anxious shakes of the head and eagerly studied the list of signatories of the prominent positions they knew well. The text of the invitation was as follows: 'The undersigned address you with the affection which the Hungarian has always felt towards the Hungarian whenever the defence of our national public interests was at stake. We see a great danger to the Hungarian race in the fact that the Jews in our country were made full citizens before they were brought into the bosom of the Hungarian nation.

were assimilated before they became patriots. Our goal: to ask the Hungarian Parliament to partially change the 1867: XVII. t.c., which declared the unconditional emancipation of the Jews.
We respectfully invite you to attend a private meeting to be held in Tapolca, in the restaurant of the large restaurant, on July 31st of the current year, at 10 a.m., to discuss the modalities of our actions in this direction. The invitation was signed by Andor Vadnay, a young landowner from Zánka, who was the real initiator of the whole action. Vadnay was known in the area for his anti-Semitic sentiments, even in the past. But it was only in 1882 that he actively and publicly became involved in anti-Semitic movements. At this time there was already much discussion in the press and in parliament about the Jewish question. The authorities protested about Jewish immigration to the government and the House of Representatives. Istóczy's name had already gained notoriety. Rallies and demonstrations were held all over the country, defensive associations and circles were organised, and rural newspapers boldly declared their support for anti-Semitism. The lower priesthood in Zala, the middle classes and the county intelligentsia in general had already shown an interest in the cause of anti-Semitism. The enthusiasm for the cause among the people finally led the leaders and initiators of the movement to take serious decisive action. In the preliminary deliberations, on the motion of Vadnay, it was decided to send a petition to the House of Representatives with a number of signatures asking for the abolition or at least a substantial modification of the Jewish enfranchisement. All those who were supposed to approve and support the whole movement were then summoned to Tapolca to discuss the details of the whole action.

As great was the anxiety of the Jews, so great was the joy of the people. Andor Vadnay, seeing the tense atmosphere, asked the more respectable citizens of the city to try to persuade the people to refrain from major demonstrations and disturbances. In the afternoon, the slave magistrate received a telegram ordering him to prevent the meeting from taking place. However, on the morning of the 31st, the large hall of the restaurant was packed to overflowing with some two hundred people present. The slave judge was forced to agree to hold a private meeting. Andor Vadnay was the first to speak, and in a lengthy speech he explained the purpose of the meeting: we had come together to resolve to call for the defence of the Hungarian Parliament against the Jewish class, which was becoming overwhelmingly predominant in our country and was growing disproportionately in its isolation. He referred to the example of the Polish people, which had already been plundered and completely destroyed by the Jews. Our statesmen of modern standards are wont to say, in the face of the Jewish question, that the sublime ideal of freedom cannot be violated by giving one class of people fewer rights than others. But why should the principle of liberty be violated if a nation makes the admission of all as sons of the nation subject to certain conditions. The principle of general liberty cannot require us to tolerate among ourselves a class of people who form a state within the state. For no one can seriously assert that we have made the Jews Hungarians by emancipation, and that the Jews subordinate their racial interests to the Hungarian national interests. Who can believe this when we see that they want to resettle the scum of the people vomited out of Russia at all costs. It is a well known fact, which cannot be overlooked, that the number of Jews in Hungary has increased from 290,000 in 1848 to 625,000 today. The extent of their multiplication must be matched only by the equality of rights as citizens, and the Hungarian generation that will come after us, even without a Russian invasion and a lost war, has reached the question of whether Hungarians can live and rule on this land, which was acquired by the blood of our ancestors. Are we therefore allowed to avoid the Jewish question. It may still be possible to help the problem. But we must hurry.
We must find a legal solution as a matter of urgency.

After the speech of Károly Jakab, deacon of Zalacsicsó, the meeting unanimously adopted and all present signed the following petition to the House of Representatives

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Declare by a qualified majority of t. Assembly that:
1. Since in a State only one society can reasonably be conceived, and the Jewish race in our country is a socially quite separate element, and since there is no prospect of the Jewish race being able to occupy a place within our society, or even to approach it, as long as it maintains a doctrine of impurity in its branches of belief which is hateful to Christians and humiliates them, the 1867.
XVII, which granted the Jewish people full and unconditional rights of citizenship in our country, must be repealed as a failure.
2. As a self-conscious state cannot tolerate that the unity of the sense of justice which is the basis of the common legal order among its citizens should be disturbed by the teaching of different and divergent morals. The right to religiously separate education and upbringing cannot be left in the hands of the Jewish class until the legislature can replace the abolished Act XVII of 1867 with a new one, in the interests of Christian morality and the Hungarian nation.
3. Since, under the oppressive economic conditions of our country, the landowning class, which is the basis of our nation, has apparently begun to decline, and its place is being taken to an ever-increasing extent by the Jewish race, from which, as a socially and morally distinct race, we cannot even expect patriotism, the duty of national self-preservation demands that the Jewish race in Hungary be prohibited from acquiring and holding real property.
In fact, the Tapolca petition was much more than a simple constitutional exercise by a small group of voters. In fact, this petition opened a new chapter in the history of Hungarian anti-Semitism. It was the first time that the ultimate goal of the Hungarian anti-Semites was clearly and definitively formulated. This aim, as we have seen, was nothing more and nothing less than the abolition of the Act XVII of 1867 on the equal rights of Jews. On the other hand, the petition of the people of Tapolca provided an opportunity for all the anti-Semitic members of the Chamber of Deputies to march in unison and fight against the government, the Libertarian and the Independence Party. The petition was not heard until six months later, in January 1883, but the handful of anti-Semites were already fully prepared and launched a general attack on the ruling political system. The debate lasted four days. This was the beginning of what was to be a years-long struggle between the anti-Semitic group and the other parties, which adhered to liberal principles. From the anti-Semitic side, Győző Istóczy introduced the debate with a lengthy speech in which he demonstrated with irresistible arguments that the abolition of equal rights was in the vital interest of Hungarians. Géza Ónody, Iván Simonyi, György Széli, Gyula Szalay and Gyula Verhovay took the floor in his wake. The whole House of Representatives listened to their speeches with astonishment. One by one, they harshly told the government and the legislature that for empty slogans and meaningless phrases they were shutting themselves off from consideration of the main national interests and were plunging the Hungarian nation into ruin. The empty phrases uttered by the ruling party and the Independence Party have proved ineffective this time. Yet Mocsáry, Irányi, Jókai, Herman, Ugrón, Berzeviczy and even Kálmán Tisza himself marched in defence of equal rights. It was typical of the mood that even those who wanted to maintain emancipation could not deny the existence of the Jewish question. Although the majority rejected the petition of the Tapolca people, the public attention was now directed entirely towards the Jews.

Finally, there was a third achievement of the Tapolca movement. From then on, Andor Vadnay became fully involved in the anti-Semitic movement. Young with enthusiasm, he was only 24 years old at the time, and he took on every task with tenacity. He came up to Pest. He took part in anti-Semitic meetings in the countryside and soon became one of the best-known speakers.

Istóczy's defender.

Vadnay's name became nationally known when he took on the role of defence counsel in the press trial against Istóczy. Back in 1882, an article was published in the 12 pamphlets under the title "The Jewified Hungary". The prosecutor's office prosecuted him for incitement against a religious sect. Since Istóczy, as the editor, refused to name the author of the article, he had to take responsibility for its authorship himself. At the request of the prosecutor's office, the House of Representatives extradited Istóczy. The Tisza Kálmán family hoped that the jury would sentence Istóczy to at least a short prison sentence, and thus get rid of him for a short period. The press trial was of course preceded by a great deal of interest.

On June 30, 1883, the day of the trial, a large crowd appeared at the courthouse. After the jury had been empanelled, the prosecutor read out the article of the indictment in full, and then made a lengthy speech in which he asked for a severe sentence. The young Vadnay responded with a defence speech lasting nearly two hours. First, he demonstrated the justification and necessity of anti-Semitism in Hungary. Then, point by point, he demonstrated the untenability of the indictment. Finally, he dissected the prosecution's case and refuted his allegations one by one.

The indictment does not actually have a concrete subject, Vadnay stated at the beginning of his speech. The indictment is based on the Btk. The charge sheet is based on the part of § 172 of the Criminal Code that refers to incitement to hatred against a religious sect. But anyone who reads the article will not find a single word in it that deals with the religion of the Jews. The article discusses the Jewish question as a political, social and economic issue. Because of this article, Jews can worship their Jehovah, practice their rituals, and this article is written with full religious tolerance. The fact is, however, that for several decades now, Jews have been accusing anyone who even dares to touch on their social, political and economic practices of religious intolerance. So much so that today even non-Jewish society believes that the rightful criticism of Judaism is religious persecution. The article does not see Judaism as a religious sect, but as a separate race, which, although it does not form a separate state, is more dangerous because it forms a state within the state, a race which, although it has no geographical borders, is an international, political, social and economic power.

The article criticizes the outgrowths of Jewry as a separate race, as a closed caste, a separate race of people, which in our times has become an anachronism, the harmful and even disastrous effects of which, in the economic, social and political spheres, we, the gentiles, feel most severely every day.

If we examine closely the period since 1867, it is impossible not to find that no great idea which has captured the public imagination, nor a single ideal of freedom, which, perverted from its original character and purpose, has not been used by Jewry for its own purposes, has ever emerged.

But wherever we look, everywhere, even in our more recent laws, we find undeniable signs of the Jewish influence corrupting everything. Is there not a red thread running through our penal law, a slight consideration of crimes which crimes are special outgrowths of the Jewish popular spirit. There is, to take but one example, perhaps none of the usual and conceivable crimes which are more dangerous to public morals, more pernicious in their effect, than the crime of fraud. I should like to hear a plausible reason why, if the poor man who, perhaps through hunger, has stolen a lamb or a piglet, should be prosecuted ex officio, why should not the factoring or retailing Jew who deceives the simple-minded and credulous peasant by cunning trickery, be prosecuted ex officio.

Those who are concerned with the great problem known as the Jewish question also want to be clear as to what the final solution of this question, which is universally recognized as a burning one, should actually be?
In this respect, there are four prevailing views, one of which is that of the Philo-Semites, according to which the Jews are to be reformed and incorporated into the Christian people by civil marriage.

The anti-Semites are divided into three camps as to the solution of the Jewish question: one sees the final solution in the mass emancipation of the Jews, another in the withdrawal of emancipation, and the third in the expulsion of the Jews from the country. I do not want to discuss here which of the three paths would lead most surely to the goal; time and its developments will decide which of the three is the right one. For the past centuries, the only effective means have been restraint and expulsion, and these have been used for eight and a half centuries by the governments of our glorious kings to protect the interests of our nation. Both methods have thus formed an additional part of Hungarian public law in the past, and so it is not impossible that they may be re-established in the not too distant future.

How can it be understood that today, when the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian Parliament are the sovereign ones in this country, those who dare to defend the vital interests of the Hungarian nation against the entrenched Jewry are the targets of political persecution? It is up to you, esteemed gentlemen of the jury, in the concluding part of Andor Vadnay's powerful defence speech, to decide today whether the Jewish people are really sovereign in Hungary today, or whether we are? This press trial is the first political trial in the thousand years of the existence of the Hungarian state ever brought against a Hungarian man who has scourged the excesses of the Jews, who have been overbearing in their age.

In reply to the prosecutor, Vadnay, in contrast to those who refer to Deák and Eötvös on the Jewish question, quoted Széchenyi: his great soul, concerned for our race, could never be reconciled with the idea of Jewish emancipation, and if he had not bled for us in Döbling before the conciliation of '67, the position of power of the Jews in our country would have been quite different, much less than it is today. Széchenyi not only condemned the emancipation of the Hebrews, but mocked it at every opportunity and never tolerated a Jewish regal tenant in his extensive domain. Already in 1839, in the flood book of the time, he only said to the soft-hearted Eötvös, who was lamenting emancipation in a Jeremian tone, that if we emancipate the Jews, who will emancipate us from Jewry?

Vadnay's defence speech was a remarkable performance in terms of legal reasoning and oratory skills. He did not forget about the legal grounding, he took care to prove that the accusation was untenable from a purely and exclusively legal point of view. But he was also aware that he was dealing with jurors and not lawyers. More important than the legal argument, therefore, was to expose blatantly and openly the situation created by the emancipation of the Jews. This task Vadnay accomplishes with honesty, with the

with the fervour of conviction, he has solved it. From the legal point of view, he sought only to prove that the legal suppression of the Jews and the limitation of their influence is not unknown in Hungarian public law. Our Árpád kings had already passed such laws. The main aim of his analysis of the role of the Jews was to shed light on their alien spirituality, their separate aspirations, their different moral outlook and their consequent role in the civilisation of society. This endeavour was also entirely successful. Those who listened to Vadnay's defence speech sensed and understood the eternal one essence of Judaism and, even if they may not have agreed with all anti-Semitic aspirations, they realised the justification and necessity of doing so. After such preparation, of course, Vadnay did not need to waste much time in proving that Istóczy, as the selfless, righteous and courageous defender of the Hungarian people whose vital interests were threatened, deserved not to be chased and condemned, but to be respected and honoured.

After the defence speech, there could be no doubt about how the verdict would be pronounced. Istóczy's defence was brief. After a short deliberation, the jury returned a verdict of acquittal. The audience was very enthusiastic about Istóczy's acquittal. But the whole country rejoiced at the courageous and firm stand of the jury. From all parts of the country came a flood of welcome letters and telegrams. Hungarian society was freed from an almost unbearable pressure. Optimism and hope had taken hold of the souls. The news of this interesting event reached abroad. German, Austrian and French newspapers published detailed reports of the negotiations. The Jewish press in Germany either remained silent about Istóczy's acquittal or wrote about it with great disdain. Some of the more zealous Jewish newspapers called for the juries to be brought under control or even for the abolition of the institution altogether. As Vadnay pointed out, the Istóczy minute was the first anti-communist press circus in Hungary. This trial was followed by hundreds and thousands of similar trials over the next half century. It is a curious twist of fate that the first case of sedition ended in acquittal at the height of liberalism.

Antisemitic MEP.

As a result of Istóczy's publicity, Vadnay became a man of national fame. That same year, the people of Kecskemét nominated him as one of the representatives of the vacant district. Next to Cegléd, Kecskemét was one of the strongest centres of the anti-Semitic movements between the Danube and the Tisza. The largest anti-Semitic organisations were formed here. The most enthusiastic rallies and demonstrations were organised here. It was here that anti-Semitic leaders were received with the greatest celebration. Vadnay gladly accepted the candidacy. After the first round of the fierce electoral battle, Vadnay was put into a by-election with the candidate of the ruling party. In the second round, he won by a significant majority. In the elections of 1884 and 1887, his home constituency of Tapolca sent him to parliament with an anti-Semitic programme. He became not only the youngest but one of the most hard-working members of the Chamber of Deputies. He always played an important role in the parliamentary actions of the anti-Semitic party. It soon became clear that he was not only a good speaker at mass meetings, but also a great speaker on the platform of the House of Representatives. In the debate on the Jewish-Christian marriage bill, he declared that the Jewish question in our country was rapidly approaching the stage where the peace of two races or their open hostility to each other depended on its solution or non-solution. Whoever sees in our country the Jews taking a more and more determined stand in all spheres of power, in opposition to the decay of the Hungarian race, and observes that the same Hungarian landowning class which a generation ago was throwing its whole material and intellectual weight behind the cause of making all the inhabitants of Hungary equal in rights and burdens, is now in the process of taking a more and more decisive stand in the matter of the Jews.

should do so, if he now wishes to put an end to his general decadence, and to seek the protection of the law against the depredations of usury. he can no longer doubt that Jewry must be regulated. We lay the blame for the postponement of the Jewish question on the government and the philo-Semitic opposition, warning them at the same time that they will bitterly regret it one day if they belittle or even disparage a movement which is fuelled by the emotion and passion of the noblest of emotions and the sole rightful owner of human passions, the love of race. In the debate on the reform of the House of Lords, Vadnay was vehemently opposed to the idea of including in the legislature representatives of the Jewish denomination. What does the government want to achieve by including rabbis? he asks. Is it to spread anti-Semitism or to eliminate it? If it wants the former, then its efforts are wasted, because we shall do it; if it wants me to cease, then it is a pity to increase by one the number of hair roots by which the alien race is attached to our house, since such an increase can only strengthen our people in the conviction that we must sooner or later do away with Jewry, because we cannot remain together. If we cannot do otherwise, we must solve the problem by expelling the Jews.

During the debate on the 1887 budget, Vadnay also made the bravest and most powerful speech of all the anti-Semitic MPs. That the number, economic power and political influence of the Jews are increasing day by day and in what enormous proportions, I need hardly point out. Everybody is anxiously aware and feels today that the declaration of unconditional political emancipation was a fatal political mistake. Everyone has already experienced that the people are beginning to tire of the proclamation of the independence of the country by those who stand idly by and even try to conceal the fact that the landowner and the industrialist are being destroyed by Jewry and the worker is emigrating. The eyes of the people are already beginning to open, the people feel that they cannot compete with the Jews in the matter of business sustenance and material increase, they feel the injustice which cries to the heavens, which lies in the fact that they must retreat from a race which is without a cause, in spite of all their efforts and diligence, because they find no protection from the government and parliament. We seek a solution by constitutional means which will enable our nation to survive in its independence and originality. If we do not succeed, it is only a matter of time before the crisis erupts. As soon as the question of power, the question of which of us is the master here, arises between two races which differ as much as possible in their customs, traditions and morals, the reason for the outbreak of the crisis is no longer needed, only the occasion. We know, we feel deeply, that a violent solution can be very cruel and can bring ruin on both sides. But even if we were certain that this great crisis could be avoided by silence, we could not complain idly as we face the prospect of total alienation, of slow but certain destruction.

In reply to Matlakovich, Vadnay says to the liberal side's face that they are just throwing around the slogans of the great revolution, freedom, equality, and underneath that they are hiding the fact that the Jews are squeezing us out of commerce, industry and landed property. It is not equality, Mr. Speaker, that is needed for the starving, but bread; it is not individual freedom for the landless, for he has more of it than he ought, but shelter; it is not free competition for the weaker, less vigorous Christian in the field of business, but protection.

Bailiff of Csongrád.

With the situation of the anti-Semitic party becoming hopeless, Andor Vadnay, full of burning racism, work ethic and enthusiasm, sought a public position where he could work for his kind. To show his loyalty, diligence, conscientiousness, broad vision and talent, even as a former

was held in high esteem by his political opponents, nothing is more characteristic than the fact that, after his daily political retreat, although they knew that his anti-Semitic principles had not failed him, they offered him the office of archbishop. Vadnay accepted the commission. He was fully aware of what he was undertaking. He knew very well that his county was Csongrád, one of the main centres of agrarian socialism in the lowlands. We are in the second half of the nineties. The failure of the production system, the high population growth rate, the total absence of large estates, of industry, the decline in water regulation and other public works, have brought the very destitute population of this region into a bitter crisis. The mood among the agrarian proletarian masses had been depressed and tense for some time. It was also the time when the Marxist movements in Hungary were spreading their wings. In the suburbs and market places of the country towns of the Great Plain, suspicious figures appeared in increasing numbers. The agents of the party headquarters in Pest, with their characteristic expressions, soon gained the confidence of the desperate crowd, who were loitering idly. They spoke of new ideas, strange, nonsensical witnesses, unknown strangers with strange names. Nationalism, class struggle, public property, expropriation, proletarians and capitalists. About Marx and Engels, the fiery, flashing-eyed, badger-haired, swing-bearded apostles of salvation. You just have to get into their camp, agitate and organise and soon paradise on earth will come with all the beauty imaginable. And the Little Stephen's, the Black Andrew's and the Great Joseph's listened with reverent faces to the prophecies and promises, though they did not understand the many strange theories and ideas, but some of the watchwords remained in their memory and filled them with desire and hope.

Agrarian Marxism grew rapidly. The situation became critical. Here and there were already minor clashes. The penniless masses, left to their own devices, with no one to look after them, had nowhere else to go for help, understanding and support. They clung to the first hand that reached out towards them. What did they care that this hand was a stranger and that this hand was not reaching out to help them, but only wanted to use them as a tool to serve a senseless ideology. Within a few years, the idea of class hatred and class separation had already burned like embers in the masses of the poor of the lowlands. It glowed, burned, almost scorched, and threatened to burst into flame and become a threatening conflagration. The state and the authorities were powerless in the face of the growing challenges. This was not a simple administrative matter or procedure. We were dealing with a profound social disease. No one knew what should or could be done. What they knew about Andor Vadnay was that he had a great deal of ability, vocation, a good understanding of how to win the trust of the people, and that he was characterised by energy, perseverance and diligence. If anyone, he is the only one who can cope with the agrarian-socialist problem in the lowlands. Vadnay was a native of the Transdanubian region, and because of his origins, his upbringing, his previous life and his family connections, he was at home in this part of the country, but the same cannot be said of his new mission. Here he was greeted by an unfamiliar world and an unfamiliar life. The Tisza valley is a different landscape, a different land, a different people, a different set of problems, a different life, a different set of tasks. But the Archbishop of Csongrád soon found his way around his county. Above all, he got to know the people, visiting them at home, at rest and at work. He was most interested in the fate and situation of the agrarian proletariat.

He reached out to this group, his office was always open to them, listening to their complaints, helping them wherever possible. Even though he often saw their misplaced prejudices and pointless bias, he sympathised with them and came to their defence. And in order to truly understand them, he immersed himself in the study of their souls and their natures, and he saw his office as more than a representative dignity. He wanted to work and be of use to his county. He knew life not from files but from his own direct experience. His honest endeavours and his desire to help, if not everyone, then all those concerned

was received with gratitude and appreciation by the vast majority.

And that he was indeed a keen-eyed, keen-sensed observer of his people, that he really understood the plight and the misery of the penniless people of Csongrád, that he correctly recognized the essence of their problems and the right way to solve them, is undoubtedly evident from his little work On the Tisza Valley. It was perhaps Vadnay's first sociography of a village in the modern sense. A deep and enthusiastic love of race pervades every line of the book. He writes with more warmth, love and appreciation of the human and racial values of the penniless people of Csongrád than perhaps anyone before or since: "A man without means, who would be more attached to his home and more clinging to his nails than the day labourer of Csongrád County, cannot be found anywhere on the face of the earth. He has neither a house nor a single piece of real estate. As a cuban labourer, he travels in large groups throughout the country, from the Moravian border to Brasov. But he never has the urge to settle wherever he goes. He never leaves the plain of the Tisza. Emigration is an unknown concept to him. For generations, it has been engrained in his blood that his only homeland is the land of the Tel Aviv.

The evils of the life of our rural people are recognised one by one. The one-sided and unhealthy nature of their diet and the dangers inherent in it, as well as the wrong, inappropriate work schedules, the inefficient working hours, the closed, suspicious and distrustful nature of their people, are masterfully analysed. It is through the bona fide, honest personalities and attitudes of Balázs Fekete Nagy and his fellow workers that we learn about the mysteries of agrarian socialism. These Big Black Balázs know the doctrines of Marx and Lassalle better than they know the small and large treatises. Here and there you can see Marx's portrait or Lassalle's on the walls of poor apartments. "Without a trace of sympathy, I salute with shy respect the press which has been able to make the poor believe that Jacob Israel/Sándor Pfeffer, Vilmos Mezőffy and István Várkonyi feel nothing but their own misery day and night, hunger and thirst, and are unselfishly and wholeheartedly committed to the cause of the working class."
Vadnay thinks with despair of having to watch helplessly as the trouble continues to spread, the misery of thousands and thousands of honest, hard-working Hungarians: there is a crisis. We have a terrible disaster to avert. We have raised from a formerly semi-nomadic, semi-farming, semi-cultivating, working-at-all-times, penniless people on the Tisza's televine plains a Cubic labourer. The well-paid, physical, superhuman-looking drudgery of the land created in the 1980s the most industrious and strongest working man in the round world, the cubic field worker. You have to see these workers when they work. Whether on the dam, when they lift more than half a ton from dawn to dusk, or at harvest time, when they spend 18 of the 24 hours of the day in uninterrupted hunched-over labour for weeks on end. They are international champions of overworked physical labour. More than 200,000 of these athletes live in the valleys of the Tisza, the Mures and the Körös. They do not move elsewhere, emigration has not yet entered their souls.
They will not even think about it. The people of the Hungarian Great Plain have reached the beginning of a period of crisis, we read in another place in his book. It is not about the wealthy class of the Lowlands. It would be wrong to misunderstand. The peasant farmer with over fifty or a hundred acres, not to mention the manors, is perhaps growing rich. After all, savings deposits are growing. But it is the small or destitute element and the working class which have been brought to the brink not only of ruin in wealth but also in numbers by the conditions of production and the unfortunate direction of economic development. It is precisely the class that is destroyed which does not recognise the value of a single child as an undivided inheritance, in which the desire for at most two children or as few as possible does not limit the vocation which awaits it in the field of population and the propagation of our race.

When he looks for a way out of the crisis, he looks at the whole of the Great Plain as an economic entity and makes his proposals in this sense. He uses the Netherlands and Saxony as examples. The Great Plain must become a fruit, vegetable and fodder-producing area.

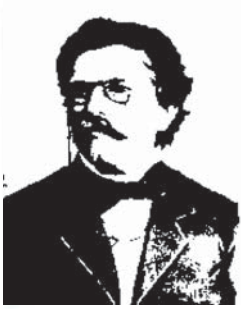
The garden of Europe. And its population should increase tenfold over time. In this context, flood protection should be seen as the beginning of water control. And the construction of the Danube-Tisza canal is more urgent than ever.

There is no sacrifice we can shy away from when it comes to saving the Hungarian people of the Great Plain. Give us the means and the opportunities to enable the four million Hungarians of the Great Plain, this wonderful, strong race, to triple in size from its own life, its own blood, its own diligence, and to expand like the plate of the golden spot in the alfalfa, absorbing all other living things to the borderlands. But when this year the number of my emigrating brethren exceeds fifty thousand, I cannot restrain myself from shouting aloud.

The question of the oppression of the workers of the Lowlands is not a question of a class, but a question of the Hungarian people, of the rule and future of the Hungarian race in this land.

Vadnay was wrong on only one point, when he downplayed the role of the latifundia, the large estates, as one of the causes of the oppression of the lowland workers. Poor Vadnay revealed the problems almost half a century ago and today we hear the same complaints and the same problems mentioned with almost pinpoint accuracy. As if nothing had happened in a generation.

IRODALOM: Andor Vadnay: About the Tisza River.



Gyula Verhovay

(1848-1906.)

The people's tribune.

For a decade or so from 1875 to 1885, he was surrounded by public turmoil. In that decade, there was hardly anyone in Hungary who fought more and harder than Gyula Verhovay. He came from Zemplén, the homeland of Lajos Kossuth, so it is no wonder that he was a man of fiery passion, of battles and struggles. He never hid the fact that he considered Kossuth his ideal. Indeed, there was something in his whole political and human behaviour that reminded him of Kossuth. He was at the height of his popularity when he was known throughout the country as 'little Kossuth'. His entire public career was full of hard fighting, fiery passion and unceasing struggle. In the course of it, he was often dealt, and often dealt himself, many heavy blows. He had plenty of celebration and popularity, but he also had his share of disappointments and bitter disappointments. His best and most trusted friends let him down at the most difficult and critical moments. He was a wonderful soul. He was an understanding, forgiving, loving and loving, dreamy soul, full of idealism, but if he discovered injustice or abuse, he could also be blunt, realistic, ruthless and unrelenting. He always stood up for a just cause and

whether he was defending or attacking something or someone, he did so with total devotion.

There were three ideas and ideals for which he loved, lived, worked and sacrificed almost everything: independence, freedom and justice. He fanatically believed that only the fulfilment of these three could ensure the uninterrupted national development of the Hungarian nation.
He has never structured a specific political programme or system of thought. These three ideas have always guided his behaviour and his positions. He remained faithful to them even in the most serious crises of his life.
In fact, his figure, his personality, his whole performance seems restless, agitated and rebellious only because he lived in an era when grey mediocrity, opportunism and smoothness, betrayal, selfishness and pretentiousness were in fashion. Verhovay knew very well that he had little hope of prevailing against the empty-headed troublemakers and the pocket-full epigones, yet he took up the fight out of an inner irresistible necessity. Even if he was always fired by ideals, he was not a faddish idealist, he never broke away from earthly reality. Behind all his struggles, all his struggles, there was always, as the ultimate goal, the devout love of his race. The driving force of his entire political and public writings was the uplifting and strengthening of the Hungarian nation, its access to law, life, power and authority. Although he did not practice class politics, he was primarily concerned with the fate of millions of little people. And this masses instinctively sensed in Verhovay their hero, their self-sacrificing defender of their interests, and stood by him, listened to him and followed him until his opponents had spat on his human honour, morally executed him and banished him from public life.

He was called a tribune by many, both during his life and after his death. If we understand this word to mean that he could play on the masses' soul, that he could influence the masses and that he could captivate the masses to the extent that he could whip their emotions and their will into action if necessary, then he was indeed a tribune of the people. The people on the street adored him, but he himself never consciously sought this popularity. He did not seek cheap accolades, he did not chase fame and glory. he always acted out of inner compulsion, driven, driven by some unknown mysterious force within. Although he was the people's favourite, he was not a demagogue. He could be ruthless and unrelenting, and when he was in battle he was not too choosy in the means he used, just as his opponents were not too choosy in the weapons they used to defeat him. He was always very careful never to attack anyone or anything without justification. He never sought to inflame popular passions artificially, but he could not help it that the fire that flamed within him was transmitted in his writings and speeches and kindled in everyone. His whole performance lacked everything that we usually find in a popular tribune. He lacked posture, pomposity, haughtiness, impressive gestures, his figure and his whole appearance did not resemble the popular leaders, but there was something suggestively compelling, irresistible in his personality. Objectivist contemporaries did not regard him as one of the best orators, but rather as a man whose sincerity, openness and directness had a profound effect on the masses. Verhovay was a tribune of the people, a leader of the people, not by the unconscionable stirring up of popular passions, but by the direct spiritual connection that was established between him and his readers and listeners. His actions are governed by a deep sense of responsibility, and he has guided the roaring, roaring, outpouring masses back into their proper channels when necessary.

He is said to have been a liberal in every sense of the word, who believed with deep conviction in the ideas and slogans of liberalism that would redeem mankind. He undeniably lived in and adhered to liberal thought. But his liberalism was quite different from that which dominated Hungarian public life at the time. Verhovay was no doctrinaire and hypocritical. How differently he interpreted the

liberalism, as the so-called great liberals of his time: the Kálmán Tisza and the Daniel Irányi, shows that he was in a constant and bitter struggle with them. For Verhovay did not consider lawlessness, electoral violence, abuses, terror, the loss of face, duplicity, mass repression and the expansion of Jewish power to be compatible with liberalism, and all these were part of the age of liberal Hungary. But this liberalism was denied, despised and hated by Verhovay. He never concealed the fact that liberalism should not be followed for its own sake, that it could only be a means to strengthen the Hungarian nation, and that if liberalism is used by political cliques for their own ends and invoked to pursue a dark reactionary policy, to commit acts of hatred and abuse, to put the country at the mercy of the Jews' desire for conquest and their power frenzy, then all emotional and intellectual communion with this liberalism must be denied. After a decade and a half of experience, Verhovay was not reluctant to admit the complete and final bankruptcy of liberalism and the parliamentary representative: 'The present organisation of parliament, as it is prepared, as it is formed, as it is formed, is, as a whole and in its individuals, its leaders and its parties, an excellently organised public society. Elections are businesses, mandates are shares, ministers are directors, archbishops are agents, the state is a corporation."

When the success and disappointment of a decade and a half of struggles were already behind him, when he was slowly being driven out of the swampy jungle of Hungarian public life like a hunted, hunted animal, when he was financially and morally ruined by Jews and Tisza Kálmáns, by hateful opponents and deceitful, duplicitous friends jealous of his popularity. In the age of the mask, he takes a look back at what happened: "How many lawsuits, how many fights, went on around the three-foot wide and five-foot long board, which is my world, I don't know the number of lawsuits, harassments, scoldings, chases. With bulging cheekbones, the ritual prosecutor of the Eslar blood libel cried out during the jury trials, "Just as many fines as possible, so that the editor will feel it!" And I paid the pagan fines. Officers invaded my editorial office to ban the publication of the paper. Police fists were throwing up the scraps of "Independence" at the printers. Typesetters and printers were hired to ensure that the paper suffered as many delays as possible, with as little damage as possible. They stole my property with official force of arms. They raided everything I had, and even what was not mine, so that the barbaric party interest would triumph over the rule of law, and the vandalism of power over truth... I was only able to endure all this in the presence of the force that would cry out with me, even under the gallows, at the grave of the murdered public morality, at the sleeping corpse of the blood-sacrificed girl, at the mightiness that turned the legal life of the squeezed out families of the people into stock exchange paper: the pen, the pen!

How many anxious days, how many sleepless nights, how many struggles, how many fights I have had with this pen. I bear the scars of some of them on my soul and body: but they have not received the satisfaction of lowering my banner before the purple of their power. I bear the bullet in my belly, the negatives of sword cuts, the slash of an assassination attempt on my honour, I bear the scourge of my material ruin, but they have not received the satisfaction of my surrender.

They didn't even get me to shut up. And yet, in my hours of bitterness, when the good friend was beating me and the donkey was kicking me, I was almost afraid that after twenty-four years of sacrificing my childhood and youth to public life, I was finally at rest.

But if, after all this, I see how the awakened public spirit begins to defend itself in the highest and lowest echelons of national society, magnate, gentry, industrialist, peasant worker against the false spirit of the times, with false principles, playing a false game: when I see how many more Christian innkeepers, how many more Christian shops, how many more Christian officers, how many more independently managed middle and large estates instead of land-granting tenancies, when I see how rabbis who consider forgery a religious sacred patent are pressed to keep their registers more honestly, when I see how many families, how many men and how many youths have been stopped at the gates of the 'graduated farmers' by the usury law, the tangible result of our own battered and bruised struggles, my soul fills with joy, for though we have done ourselves harm, we have served our nation as faithful and true sons; then the clearer light of facts and truths will prove that greater than all the barren squabbling parties and party men, more intimate and substantial, because felt and enjoyed by all, is the fruit of our struggle."

What Verhovay told us fifty years ago about himself and his struggles needs little explanation. If not the practical political result of his tough stand, his moral weight and significance were all the greater. Verhovay himself was a living conscience of protest in the moral stigma which spread with frightening rapidity in our country after the Reconciliation in the Tiszakálmani era.

Verhovay was born in 1848, the year of the national revolution, and in Sátoraljaújhely, the narrow homeland of the leader of the revolution. His parents were simple people, but they took great care of his education. Little Verhovay was a lively, industrious and hard-working child. Even as a student he excelled in two things. Firstly, he was an excellent stylist, his teachers encouraged him to write, and he himself had a great desire to turn over a pen. But his restless nature, his passionate, turbulent emotions, showed themselves early on, and he was already one of the most vocal in his student life. At the age of fifteen, he published his first essay in a newspaper in Košice. It was this first piece of writing that saw his name appear in print. The first letter in print made him a soldier of the pen forever. From then on, the pen and the letter became his destiny. The pen brought him his popularity and fame, but the pen brought him much suffering, persecution and hardship. Writing and the letter became his sole purpose in life, and he himself says that there is no greater earthly pleasure than the pleasure of writing, that in his writings he could pour out his bitterness, calm his raging passions and restless nerves, and vent his raging, overflowing will and energy. For him, writing was a necessity of life, like water or air for any other mortal on earth. At the age of fifteen he was already writing to his parents: If God wills it as I will, I will become a writer." And indeed, it was God's will that Gyula Verhovay should become a writer, one of the most lively, colourful and popular Hungarian public writers.

He finished his high schools in Sátoraljaújhely. Already as a student he was involved in public struggles. His sensibility and the liberal ideas of his time drove him into the first confrontations. As a first-year law student, a Jewish and a Hungarian student had an argument in the classroom. The latter silences the Jew with a well-directed neck-slap. The Jew asks the headmaster to make amends, but the headmaster refuses to deal with the matter. Verhovay, like Istóczy in his youth, is an ardent supporter of Jewish emancipation and sympathises with the Jews. He writes about the case in the Pesti Napló. For this he is summoned before the school board and ordered to correct his article in the paper. Verhovay is reluctant to do so. He is expelled.

He gets a modest civil servant job in the Ministry of Defence. But the monotonous and boring life of a clerk is not for him, and he can't stand it for long. His pen is not meant for copying columns and files. He soon finds himself in contact with the Budapest papers. His heart, his soul, his convictions, naturally attracted him to the independence papers. At that time, the extreme left

its newspaper was the Inspector, edited by Csernátonyi. Verhovay threw himself into journalistic work with great enthusiasm. His articles soon made his name known and popular. Csernátonyi also recognised his talent and made him chief editor of the paper at a young age. However, when Kálmán Tisza and the editors of the two independence papers, Hon and Ellenőr, Mór Jókai and Lajos Csernátonyi, made the merger, i.e. they hung their independence principles on the nail, Verhovay, deeply indignant at this political harakiri, and not caring about his own uncertain fate and his bleak future, left Ellenőr.

As independence politics was now left without a newspaper, Verhovay, together with Gábor Ugrón, made an offer to Athenaeum to start a newspaper. However, his plans to publish a newspaper were politely turned down. Shortly afterwards, Verhovay was transferred to Csávolszky's Unanimity. He soon became one of the main strengths of this paper. After Tisza's reversal of fortunes, Verhovay's articles actually lent new popularity and impetus to the collapsed independence policy, which had lost much of its strength and prestige. His articles about his visit to Kossuth had a particularly profound effect on public opinion. He visited Kossuth in Turin on 21 June 1875. This visit was without doubt one of the most memorable of his life. Of his experiences in Turin, those of Ignác Helfy, Kossuth's Jewish confidant, are particularly interesting. Verhovay remembers Helfy only as an ordinary house Jew, and indeed his behaviour deserves this description. He uses the publication of Kossuth's memoirs for business purposes and to earn commissions. He requests Kossuth to allow him to extract his memoirs. Instead of honest Hungarian newspaper writers and representatives, he takes a swindling Jew, Henrik Gunst, to Kossuth to do the work of sorting out the documents. Verhovay also worked hard to revive the stalled politics of independence.

At the recommendation of Csávolszky, Gyula Lukács and Lajos Hentaller were hired as editors. The first task was to win over the university youth, because all new political movements started from them. In 1878, not least because of the influence of Verhovay's articles, there was a great deal of pro-Turkish sentiment throughout the country. In Vienna, the foreign policy-makers tended to lean towards the Russians. After the battle of Plevna, the university youth prepared for a great demonstration of sympathy for the oppressed Turks. Verhovay also took part in the meetings of the so-called Committee of the Sixties, which was responsible for organising the demonstration. His speeches really got the youth fired up. By then Verhovay was one of the most popular politicians. This was above all due to his numerous press appearances. In his article in the Kazakh Toast, he severely criticised Archduke Albrecht's speech against Hungarian national aspirations. In connection with the planned pro-Turkish demonstration, he succeeded in persuading the youth to send a delegation to the Prime Minister to hold him to account for his policy. On the day of the rally, almost the entire capital was on its feet. The Museum Square and its surroundings were swarming with people. It was a huge flood of people, humming and roaring, when Verhovay gave the signal to take the whole assembly up to Buda. We demand that free citizens be given free access to the head of the government.

The police did not dare to confront the huge crowd, the likes of which the streets of Pest have perhaps never seen before. The prime minister's palace was completely surrounded by the menacing crowd, rocks and eggshells rained down on the windows, and the first groups of people entered the lobby. The situation has now turned critical. Verhovay knew that if he did not act now, the consequences would be unforeseeable. Suddenly he began to speak, denounced Kálmán Tisza's policies, then slowly distracted the audience from him, calming the popular passions that were about to erupt. In doing so, he may have saved Tisza's life. The response to his action was to be arrested the next day and locked up in Fortuna among common criminals. He was tried for six weeks on the grounds of leniency, but was acquitted by a jury. His popularity was greater than ever. The trial, which was soon to be was elected to represent three districts in the elections: Makó, Cegléd and Debrecen, in the latter seat he defeated Tisza himself. Of the three seats, he kept the one in Cegléd, in order to express his loyalty to Kossuth's ideals. Ottó Hermann's candidacy led to serious disagreements with his party, especially with Károly Eötvös. He wanted to nominate Hermann Verhovay with an independence programme in the vacant district of Szeged Lower Town. This not only brought him into conflict with the leadership of his party, but the good people of Szeged were not keen to be tied down either. They were reluctant to accept Hermann. Mainly because they saw him as a Jew. In the end they liked him so much that they elected him as their representative by a large majority. Because of his feud with Eötvös, Verhovay also left the Unanimity. Shortly afterwards, on 1 January 1881, he launched the Independence Party.

Independence marked a new era in the history of the Hungarian press. Verhovay broke with the ossified, stiffened habits and traditions of the past in terms of appearance, content, staff, organisation and distribution. He was a new, daring and courageous initiator, full of youthful verve and enthusiasm. He was only thirty-two years old at the time. With virtually no financial resources, capital or support, he embarked on a bold new venture. He had only faith, will and fanaticism. But it was invincible. The unconventional, bold voice and vitality of his paper quickly made Independence popular.

Just eight days after its launch, Verhovay's new paper was already embroiled in major battles with almost fatal consequences. An article entitled The Tailcoat Gang appeared in Independence. This article exposed in full and brought to the public's attention the major abuses at the Smallholders' Land Credit Institute. It was about a vast array of embezzlement, fraud and forgery. Almost without exception, these abuses harmed small people. The insiders were the minions of the government, who were responsible for the collapse of the institution, which was on the brink of collapse, and they took everything that could be moved out of it. Independence was ruthless in its reporting, making no exception for the aristocratic members of the board, who were also aware of the abuses. In circles close to the National Casino, the exposure of Independence was considered very unpleasant. Some form of retaliation was sought. An unknown figure, Baron Izidor Majthényi, took it upon himself to threaten Verhovay. He and some of his associates went to the editorial office and held Verhovay responsible. They had already been informed in advance of what was going to happen to them, so they waited for the newcomers with loaded revolvers on their desks. Majthényi held Verhovay responsible for having dared to write the accusations in the article about an honest man, Count Paul Festetics. He referred to Verhovay's evidence, but Majthényi doubted its authenticity. Verhovay then showed a handwritten letter from Count Pál Festetics, in which he had instructed the director of the institute to confiscate the valuables. Majthényi, however, was determined to tie Verhovay to the case and sent him a libellous message the day after his visit to the editorial office. A jury of prominent public figures unanimously agreed that Verhovay had not only no obligation but no right to seek redress. Verhovay did ask for satisfaction after the decision. The conditions were a single bullet change in twenty-five paces. The duel was fought at the old racecourse.

Both sides scored in the fiftieth second, but Verhovay missed. Majthényi, who was also a known target shooter, aimed and his bullet hit Verhovay between the esophagus and trachea, lodging between the clavicle and scapula. Verhovay carried the bullet in his body for the rest of his life. For weeks, he hovered between life and death. The incident sparked immense outrage. The day after the duel, huge crowds marched against the National Casino. Police were unable to cope with the threatening behaviour with a desperate flood of people. The army had to be called out. There were two fatalities in the volley. The street demonstrations continued for days, and only when the news broke that Verhovay was out of immediate danger did the atmosphere calm down somewhat. He had to stay in bed for months. During this time, Independence began to wither, its friends and colleagues were not up to the task of running the paper, and lacked Verhovay's drive and agility. By the time he recovered, he found his paper in a rather sorry state. But he soon got it back on its feet. He began new and new battles, with new and new successes.

The Hungarian Drumont.

Eduard Drumont was a well-known French anti-Semitic populist leader of the eighties and nineties. He was a journalist who had first-hand knowledge of the social mire, the public swamp that had taken hold in Republican France, not least as a result of the disruptive activities of the Jews. He was well acquainted with the many corrupt practices, the panamas, the embezzlements and the bribes by which the Jews had gained decisive influence in French public life. He knew the nature of the Jews, their selfish, profiteering, greedy, avaricious spirit, their organisation and unity, and he fully recognised the danger which the expansion of Jewry concealed. Buoyed by the success of the Hungarian and German anti-Semitic movements, he himself embarked on the risky and dangerous work of social awakening. He wrote a book entitled Le France Juiv. This work was an unprecedented success. One edition after another was scattered. He soon started an anti-Semitic newspaper and then a party with an anti-Semitic programme. The French anti-Semitic party played a significant role in political life for a long time.

At the time, Verhovay was compared to Drumont by Istóczy. There were indeed many similarities between them. The same fire, passion and willingness to fight fired them, the same courage and love of justice gave them the spiritual strength to take on the difficult task. The same brilliant, scintillating, boldly offensive writing was the chief strength of both.
Verhovay's first real encounter with the Jewish question was during the Tiszaeszlár trial. Within the Independence Party there had already been a rather strong anti-Semitic tendency, suffice it to refer to Ónody and István Simányi. We have already mentioned that Verhovay was pro-Jewish in his youth. The Tiszaeszlar murder and its aftermath, however, shook this conviction in him. He realised that he had been living under a terrible delusion. His sharp eyes now suddenly recognised the alien nature of Jewry.
He saw that this foreign body was a destructive disease in the body of the nation. Verhovay was deeply shocked by the unprecedented dealings, frauds, bribes, chicanery, lies, and even more shocked by the fact that the Jews united in defence of the murderous characters, and that they identified themselves with the villains in the country and beyond its borders. Even that part of Jewry which liked to claim that it had become Hungarianised, preferred to shake hands with the murderous characters rather than with honest Hungarians. The bonds of racism triumphed. Emancipation, the extension of rights, social inclusion, wealth, money, power, proved futile, the power of blood was greater than everything. Verhovay was deeply devastated by this experience. His deep and inextinguishable love of justice compelled him to condemn the behaviour of the Jews.
At first he tried to persuade the Jews to behave differently, but when he saw that these efforts were not successful, that all his efforts were in vain, he did not hesitate to attack them with hard and strong attacks. He knew that he was now confronted with a more formidable enemy than any he had ever met before, but this realization did not deter him. His fight against Jewry was not based on a clear principle, like that of Istóczy, for example, his liberal

his indoctrination often interfered in his struggles, but truth, honour, decency, and the higher national interest always made him stand up and fight against Jewry. In the early days of the Tiszaeszlar trial, the position of the anti-Semitic front was in fact represented by Verhovay and his newspaper, Independence. Independence was practically the only paper in the capital that took the only path of right, law and honour in this trial, because all the other papers were beholden either to Jewry or to the government, or to both. During the fighting in Tiszaeszlar, Verhovay had no opportunity to deepen his anti-Semitic perceptions and make himself aware of them.
It was not until years later, when he had much more experience of Judaism, that he was able to form a definitive opinion on Judaism and the Jewish question, in quiet solitude, and out of the public battles. Verhovay's final judgment, crystallised in his work The Lords of the Land, is nothing less than a passionate indictment of Jewry. We quote below some of his thoughts from this indictment:

"The fact is that their spirit rules the world. The fact is that the last half of the 19th century has been saturated with their blood and their character. The fact is that the twentieth century will be permeated by this blood and character with all its outward advantages and all its inward ulcers. *It is a fact that its unfolding will involve tremendous convulsions and great bloodbaths, for it is at last the nature and destiny of mankind not to tolerate an altar of false faith and falsified principles built on the pillars of immorality and fanatical hatreds.* The golden calf may be burnt by some ages and some generations, but it will never be an ideal as long as there is something of that which is sublime, that which is divine, in men. *There will be bloodbaths and there will be a final division.*
The Jewish question shares the Jewish fate of the planet.
With his brother, leaning on a curved husk, the wandering Jew wanders humbly through the villages. Barked at by dogs, mocked by children, then forgotten as if he had never been there.
Yet a part of his body, the whole of his spirit, is there in every village, there in the ancestral heritage, there in the flame of the Sabbath candle, there in the marking of the doorpost, there in the prayers and psalms, by which he believes himself to be a privileged people, whose right and duty it is to exploit all other peoples in the world.
The Jew of the planet is always wandering, always driven by the spirit that cannot find rest, driven by the shadows of his morals, by the nightmares of his thirst for treasure.
This Jew is the same everywhere. He can be seen behind the rescuer with a fake t-shirt, he can be seen in the shop with a fake scale, he can be seen here and there, ambushing, catching and shooting the game with the weapon of world conquest, the switch.
Principles such as liberty, equality and fraternity are not a pine in their hands to dust the ground under wheat, but a seeder to remove the weeds and the concolor from the wheat.

Anointed kings are bound by oath, by law, by the constitution. Rothschild is bound by nothing. He gives direction to legislatures and governments. He makes such laws as he pleases, and forbids the making of laws if he dislikes them. You cannot tax the stock exchange because Rothschild does not want it, you cannot prohibit the production of wine and wine counterfeiting by law because Rothschild objects. Fraud is free, counterfeiting is free, looting is free, as long as Rothschild wants it. The individual is free prey, the State is free prey, as long as Rothschild wants it.

Rothschild wanted there to be no Jewish question in the House of Commons and there was none. Those who wished to solve the socially, economically and nationally vital question by legal means, through legislation, were arrested and brainwashed.

They were bounced because otherwise they wouldn't have got the money. Faltering finances, shrinking credit and snowballing deficits, and a depressed agricultural situation were making the government's shoulders tremble. Rothschild frowned, the press blew the Jericho horns. With a deafening roar, they proclaimed: 'anti-Semitic ambitions have brought the country into disrepute, confidence in the nation's viability has waned, and a torrent of financial and economic woes threatens'.

Looking back on the Tiszaeszlár battles, Verhovay notes that of all his fights, this was the most difficult. The reason for the anti-Jewish public mood at that time was not so much the murder of the Saktarites as the behaviour of the Jews. The whole of Jewry was so united in its support for the saktar that it shocked everyone.
"In this unbreakable cohesion, the most modern neologue has proved to be only as fanatical as the most fervent Sephardic Orthodox. In this conspiracy, which was an attack on the most sacred ideals which Christian society had embraced in the 19th century, Rothschild and Baron Hirsch, Mór Wahrmann and Pál Mandl, David Schossberger and Ferenc Chorin lent a hand to Solomon Schwarz and his fellow murderous sectarians. Paris, London, Vienna, Budapest, like the rings of the voltaic column, came into contact with Shadagora, the seat of the miracle rabbi."

At the time, Verhovay dealt with the Tiszaeszlár case mainly on the basis of information from Ónody. Initially, he limited himself to simple reporting, without any commentary or position. It was only later, when the Jewish side launched a campaign of deportation in order to save the Sakterek, that Verhovay and Independence took up the fight, but even then not out of anti-Semitism, but for the sake of pure justice and the free exercise of law and justice. The battle lines were slowly being drawn, and Verhovay was now in his element. He launched a series of harsh attacks on newspapers, public officials, government and politicians who were in the business of serving the Jews. Verhovay's exposures and attacks were now unbearable for many. A veritable mafia had conspired against him.
A veritable duel avalanche of fictitious pretexts has been thrown at him. They hoped to break him down, force him to give up the fight and keep quiet. He fought 12 duels in succession with Kenedi, Horánszky and their comrades. Each of these men wanted to do favours for the Jews, so that they could get their hands on their moneybags. They threatened to kill them openly and anonymously. He received hundreds of abusive letters in foul language. They used organised terror to silence him.
Jews, Orthodox, Assimilationists and non-Jews alike took part. A Maccabee named Alexander the Great, in a café near the Museum, tried to attack Verhovay with a stick, but was unsuccessful because he pointed Verhovay's revolver at his attacker, who saw fit to move away.

One of Verhovay's most determined opponents was Sándor Kozma, the Attorney General. A fierce, bitter fight was waged between them. Kozma's official position was to serve pro-Jewish government policy. He carried out his duties with complete devotion. One of his main duties was to destroy Verhovay. He knew that this would be the best way of gaining merit with Kálmán Tisza. One after the other, lawlessness and illegalities were committed, lawsuits against Independence were launched day after day, until finally Verhovay was financially ruined and the pen was knocked out of his hands. During the Tiszaeszlár trial, Verhovay brought the outrageous conduct of Sándor Kozma as prosecutor-general to public attention, but Kozma had such powerful forces behind him that he was able to remain in his post despite the illegalities committed. The powers that be knew very well that only Kozma Sándor could force the acquittal of the prosecutors. Shortly afterwards, Kozma Sándor took merciless revenge for Verhovay's attack, when he made the false and dishonest accusation of embezzling Csángó money

he threw it at her. Kozma, moreover, was engaged to Jewish interests from the beginning of his career. When Count Gedeon Rádayon, as royal commissioner, dismantled the Lowland outlawry, he also arrested and imprisoned Jewish fences. The Pester Lloyd attacked the royal commissioner in a long article, accusing him of using torture instruments in the prisons. The news also made the rounds of the foreign press. Sándor Kozma was sent down to investigate the case. However, the prosecutor visited only Lővy's Jewish prison. After Kozma's report, Ráday was soon dismissed from his post and Lővy was released. The sentence acquitting the Tiszaeszlár prisoners was also primarily the work of Sándor Kozma. The acquittal only confirmed Verhovay in the rightness and correctness of his fight against the Jews. He proved that Jewry had not only defended a despicable crime in the interests of race, but that it now had such influence that it could trample on law and justice, and hold the government in its hands. It turns out that Jewry is the real power and law in the land. Now and from then on, he became truly anti-Semitic. Now he knew why anti-Semitism was necessary. When asked why he is anti-Semitic, he answers with these words:

"Because I love my nation more than myself and value it more than the Jew. My admiration for the distinct religious and racial organization of the Jews is the psychological spring that I know of no other way to unfold: either Hungarian society absorbs Jewry, or Jewish society absorbs the Hungarian nation." (Verhovay could not yet have known that there was a third solution, the removal of the Jews from the body of the Hungarian nation.) Everything now points to the fact that Jewry is to our nation what a carnivorous plant is to a butterfly.
If its wings touch the leaf, it immediately folds it up and does not open it until it has digested it. Our moral world is different from the moral world of the Jews, our national aspirations are different from those of the Jews. Our virtues are different, our vices are different.
There is a religious and horrible abyss between us, a dividing line. And it is impossible to cross this line, as long as the Jew is Hungarian only as long as he is in favour of Jewry, he is and always will be a Jew.

Verhovay initially adopted a milder, more cautious, liberal form of anti-Semitism. He wanted to defend against Jewry rather than attack it. Nor did he embrace proposals to abolish emancipation. He hoped to solve the Jewish question by two things, firstly by reforming the Jews and secondly by preventing further immigration. He was under the misapprehension that these proposals would find favour with the less fanatical and prejudiced section of Jewry. He was wrong. Jewry was united in its rejection of all reform plans, however modest and cautious they might have been, if they had affected or even slightly limited the position of the Jews. But not only the Jews, but also the government policy on the Jewish footpath did not want to know about any initiative that could have halted the Jewish expansion.

In Parliament.

Verhovay was a member of Parliament from 1878 to 1887. For the first two years he served exclusively liberal and independence policies. However, at the time of the Tiszaeszlár trial, he left the Independence Party and joined Istóczy's anti-Semitic party. For a time he was a member of the party, but his impulsive nature and flamboyant temperament, partly perhaps due to his liberal indoctrination, prevented him from permanent close cooperation. At first, he could not quite understand the Istóczy's consistent and radical anti-Semitism. For a long time he was a prisoner of the conviction that the Jews

can be reformed, repaired and explained. But perhaps if they had worked honestly with the Istóczy family from the start, they could have achieved much greater results. Only when he had been deprived of everything and excluded from public life, only then did he finally and truly come to know the Jews, only then did he realise that there was and could be no room for compromise and reconciliation between Hungarians and Jews. In this struggle, one of the two sides must perish. When Verhovay realised all this, he tried to revive the independence anti-Semitic party in agreement with the Istóczy family and in their spirit, but with little success. His attempt to start a newspaper was also unsuccessful, and the Independent Hungary ceased to exist after two years.

He first spoke in an anti-Semitic spirit during the hearing of the Tapolca petition. He sharply opposes the lying Jewish interpretation of libertarianism, putting the true interests of the nation before principles and slogans. It was then that he presented his proposed resolution on the reform of the Jews, which contained many good thoughts and ideas, but was ultimately a misguided attempt. However, the real arena for his fight against the Jews was not the parliament but the press.

In the elections of 1887, he remained in a minority in Cegléd by only a few votes against his former best friend Béla Komjáthy, who was able to overthrow Verhovay with a pro-independence programme, but only with the powerful support of the ruling party. To overthrow him, they used the most unwise means. It was not so much his failure as the fact that his best friend, who had taken it upon himself to overthrow him, was the one Verhovay took very much to heart. He was a very bad judge of character. His most trusted friends and confidants were the ones who let him down the most. Most of them were people whom he lifted out of obscurity and who could only gain public prominence with his help. Béla Komjáthy was one of them. This man was not only a blow to Verhovay's political career, he was also the direct cause of the collapse of Independence, because he cancelled the deposit on his land overnight.

The relentless pursuit and persecution of his opponents did not hurt him as much as the betrayal and disloyalty of those closest to him, his good friends in body and soul.

Away from the world.

After a few years of precarious life, disillusioned with everything, he finally said goodbye to public life. He married Amalia Kövér, the widow of János Jánosné Szmetanovics, a landowner from Battonya, and retired to farm here. For a long time he lived a quiet, secluded life. Only once was there any question of his return to political life. The opposition bourgeoisie of Gyula wanted to win him as a candidate for the city council. All the farming districts had already elected him as their president, but at the last minute, allegedly at his wife's request, he withdrew from the candidacy. In a short time, with great diligence, he developed the estate into a model farm. He later led an active social life with the landowners in the area. They often spent the night in one mansion or another. The past was not something he liked to reminisce about. His death was unexpected on 20 April 1896. He was without doubt one of the most distinctive and interesting personalities of his time. He could never compromise or adapt. He could not keep silent about public injustices and injustices.

In him, every just cause has found an honest advocate. He looked at every question, every issue, from the point of view of the universal interests of the Hungarian people. To this point of view he subordinated everything else, above all his own interests and aims. He never sought titles, rank, power, money, wealth; he always spoke out for the public interest. It was his destiny,

that he stood up for honour, decency and justice at a time when selfishness, hypocrisy and narrow-mindedness were in fashion. In any case, the Tisza-Calmani era got rid of one of its greatest and most dangerous opponents when it succeeded in driving him out of public life. Half a century after his great struggles, we can only think of him with respect and admiration, who stood up to all the oppression of power and all the violence of Jewry. The fact that the atrocity of Tiszaeszlar was known to the whole world and that the Jews did not succeed in sinking the case is ultimately thanks to him.

At his death, in 1906, the Jews were in full possession of the material and spiritual power of the country, and were no longer a rival to either the living or the dead Verhovay. Most Jewish newspapers, in their reminiscences, report an interesting personality whose youthful errors can be forgiven. But there were also a couple of Jewish newspapers that used Verhovay's death as an opportunity to present the fallen Verhovay and his fate as a deterrent to the still latent anti-Semitic forces, with a grinning face. The Pesti Napló, for example, praised the dead Verhovay as follows:
"Verhovay ... he too was once triumphant, triumphant and celebrated. When he proclaimed the noble words of independence and when he was shot down by the magnate marksman and when the popularity he gained made him a soldier of anti-Semitism: he was victorious and celebrated. Verhovay, too, wanted to cover the bleakness of his hateful programme with the glory of the forty-eighth leader. For a while he succeeded. But time quickly tore the glory asunder, hatred grinned behind him, the man of hatred stumbled, and Verhovay wandered his sad life's journey, abandoned, alone, fallen.
Peace for the dead... But when we see the spirit of Verhovay rising in public life, when the men of hate, multiplying, with more cunning and evil minds than ever, are pushing forward and seeming to triumph, it is impossible not to say that their triumph is a mirage, a station through which the nation and the nations, throttled by the eternal laws of progress, are rushing towards the eternal ideals of human love. Their fate will be the same as Verhovay's. And so it shall be."

The only newspaper that dared to commemorate him in a way worthy of his merits was the Christian Newspaper, published with the support of Miklós Szemere. To conclude, we quote a few lines from his article:
"Gyula Verhovay's death was reported in the newspapers, but they just glossed over it, without any appreciation. It is very natural, in our country everything is a Jewish monopoly, even immortality.
No matter how curtly the Jewish newspapers treated the anti-Semitic Gyula Verhovay, those who will ever write the history of Hungarian journalism will judge differently.
Gyula Verhovay wrote beautifully and inspiringly. His articles were impressive. With great capital and huge publicity, it is impossible to achieve today what he achieved with his single article, The Kazakh Toast.
He ruled the street. They feared his pen, but many followed him, and the hermit of Turin himself made him one of his minions. He did not harm the weak. They called his direction personal, but it was not, only a weakening of power at all costs and only if he had convictions... He could detect and ruthlessly expose. He could scourge sin, error, transgression, but never against his conscience...
He read a lot, studied a lot. It is not true that he had no education. He passed the state law exam. He read well and digested what he read. He trained countless journalists and, at the beginning of his career, was a nestor and gave him a district to individuals who are now politically active.
The strength of his diligence and perseverance was astonishing; perhaps even in his sleep he dreamed of his vocation, living it from morning till late at night.
No newspaper has ever had so many talented and nationally renowned contributors as Independence, so many friends and so many enemies It has not penetrated the bedrooms, the family

in the sanctuaries, but he hit hard on the mightiest."

*

Verhovay was the only pioneering anti-Semitic and anti-racist campaigner whose name has not been completely forgotten. It is true that his memory was not perpetuated by the Christian nationalist fervour of the 1920s, but by the brave Hungarians across the ocean. In February 1886, a group of our Hungarian brothers who had been uprooted to America gathered in Hazleton at the house of Mihály Pálinkás to form a self-help association. When the name of the association was mentioned. A teacher named Árpád Mogyoróssy, who had a good reputation in American academic circles and was also an educator of the Rockefeller family, recommended Verhovay's name. The motion was carried unanimously by those present. In half a century, the association has grown enormously, and today it is the largest social organization of Hungarian Americans, and still proudly bears the name of Gyula Verhovay. In 1931, the Verhovay Aid Society of Hungarian Americans had an ornate tomb built and Verhovay's ashes were moved to the Battonya cemetery. The monument was unveiled in the presence of three Hungarian-American delegates in a breathtaking metal ceremony. And the Hungarians of Battonya will honour the memory of Gyula Verhovay, the great Hungarian racial defender who lived and died among them in the last days of his life.

IRODALOM: Gyula Verhovay: Liberalism and conservatism.
Liberalism and liberalism.
The age of the mask.

Egan Ede

(1851-1901.)

Who was Egan Ede?

His name was already widely known in professional circles in the 1980s. He initiated a whole series of agricultural reform plans. He is considered one of the most qualified and experienced economists. He not only has ideas and plans, but also practical proposals. He studies every question he addresses with the greatest thoroughness and conscientiousness.

In formulating its reform plans, it considers all options carefully and only makes proposals to the public after careful consideration. As prolific in ideas and plans, he is equally tenacious and consistent in their implementation.

At work, he knows no obstacles, no rest or fatigue. He has an incredible energy for a good cause. He will not rest until he has achieved results. Among his many remarkable and important initiatives, we should mention his major work to increase milk production. He has also made incredible efforts to promote and spread the idea of the dairy cooperative. He wrote a whole series of articles and studies on these issues. He was convinced that dairy farming still had a very important role to play in Hungary's agriculture. Already

decades ago that the one-sided orientation of our farming towards cereal production was fraught with great dangers, not only because of the volatile weather, but also because of the emergence of competition from overseas. At the same time as promoting dairy farming, he called for the organisation of intensive livestock farming. He had the example of Switzerland in mind. He considered it one of our most important tasks to make use of the rich pastures of the Carpathians. The importance of cattle breeding in the pastures of the Carpathian Mountains was also enhanced by the fact that he was well aware of the miserable situation of the Carpathian Totians, Ruthenians and Szeklers.

difficult situation. During the few years he was national dairy supervisor, the Budapest dairy cooperative he initiated flourished under his leadership. Already here, his superb organisational skills became apparent. Under his leadership, the Inspectorate encouraged, advised and supported the development of dairy cooperatives throughout the country. He established dairy farms in Havasi, organised and raised the standard of dairy farming education, sent farmers abroad on scholarships to study dairy farming, promoted dairy farming literature, and developed a system of milk testing and milk inspection. He also worked hard to put domestic horse breeding on the right track. In the meantime, he kept a constant watch on agricultural developments in neighbouring countries. He reported on his observations and experiences in thorough and exhaustive studies. On the other hand, he also took care to inform foreign countries about the situation of Hungarian agriculture.
It organises study trips to Hungary for German farmers. In German-language studies, he gives a detailed picture of the development of Hungarian agriculture. He is constantly learning, but never content with abstract theoretical knowledge.

In fact, Egan's name became nationally known in connection with the Mountain Action. Against his will, he found himself at the centre of some of the fiercest and most passionate controversies. He was attacked and defended in the press and in parliament. For months the storm swirled around his person and his work. Accusations, accusations, slanders were hurled at him. He bore the brunt of it with a vengeance. It was this relentless and lowly pursuit that really turned the attention and interest of the better part of Hungarian society towards him.

But who was this man, besieged by so many attacks and so much passionate hatred. And what was his crime that could not be forgiven? These are the questions these lines seek to answer.
The Egan family is of Irish origin. Historical records show that the O'Egan family is a descendant of one of the main tribes of Ireland. The family held the hereditary chief magistracy of Ireland. John Egan M. P. of the family was the Member of Parliament for the Dallinakill district, born in 1754 and died in 1810. His son James, who was born in 1783 and died in 1834, left his ancestral home in the early 19th century and settled in Hungary. James was the son of Eduard Ede, who bought the Amber Estate, first as director of the Hungarian estate of Baron Simon Sina, and later as director of the estate of Prince Gustáv Batthyány

and for 30 years he was the economic advisor to Count György Festetics. Eduard had two sons, Lajos, who served in the governorate of Fiume, and Ede, who entered the agricultural career.
Ede Egan was born in 1851 in Csáktornya. He was educated at the local grammar school in Sombat, then worked as an apprentice in a large forestry farm in Saxony, and later completed his higher studies at the University of Halle and the Agricultural College of Vienna. He travelled abroad extensively and in 1878 took over the management of a 30,000-acre estate in Prussia. Three years later, after the death of his father, he returned home and farmed his family estate. Already at that time he was a prominent literary figure in Hungarian and German, publishing his own works and journals. As already mentioned, he was mainly concerned with dairy farming and cattle breeding. His work in this field attracted the attention of the government, so that in 1883 he was entrusted with the national supervision of dairy farming. He discharged his duties with great devotion. His main aim was to focus public attention on dairy farming. He also gave a lecture on this subject to the National Economics Committee of the Academy of Sciences. In 1890 he resigned from his post. He had married before that. He married the daughter of a large landowner in Prussia. After resigning, he moved to his father-in-law's estate in Prussia. He lived abroad for eight years. When he returned home, a movement had just begun among the Highland deputies to help the Ruthenian people, and Egan immediately began his activities in favour of agriculture in the Hava. At the economic congress in Szeged, he gave a lecture on Hungarian animal husbandry in the Havas, and at the same time wrote a memoir of his experiences in the Ruthenian land in connection with the action to be launched. The Minister of Agriculture, Darányi, rewarded his enthusiastic efforts and the correct ideas contained in his draft by appointing him as the head of the mountain action with wide powers as a ministerial commissioner.

This appointment was the real beginning of Egán's ordeal. It was his unparalleled human qualities, his direct, engaging personality, his endless love of justice, his deep social sense, his versatile education, his in-depth knowledge, his incredible diligence, his work ethic and work ethic, his ingenuity and tenacity that Miklós Bartha has left a lasting, everlasting memory in "In the Land of the Cauldron". But legends and stories about him are still alive in many places among the Ruthenian people. Egan may have had his faults, and he certainly had his faults, but they are dwarfed by his greatness and his values. He loved his country and his race, to which he had no blood ties, but which few could understand and appreciate better than he. Always, in everything he did, he sought to serve his country and his nation.

The Ruthenian action.

The influence of the large-scale Galician and Russian-Polish Jewish migration in the second half of the 18th century and throughout the 19th century was felt primarily and to the greatest extent in the northeastern part of the country, in the counties of Máramaros, Ung and Bereg, which were inhabited by Ruthenians. Here the same process was taking place as had occurred earlier and simultaneously in neighbouring Galicia and Bukovina with the Polish and Ukrainian peasant farming population. The pious, gullible and, in large numbers, uneducated natives were stripped of all human feeling, stripped of all moral scruples, denied of all pity or compassion, and driven solely by the brutal instinct of warfare, were virtually stripped of everything and made outcasts on their own land by the immigrant and multiplying Jewry. In this action, Jewry is without mercy and without pity, ruthlessly used any means that would help him achieve his goal. In the other chapters of this book we have already spoken of this unimaginable parasitism of immigrant Jewry, so that we will now only expand on one or two of the more important points.

In the silent, unarmed inter-racial struggle which developed between the new conquering Jewry and the Ruthenian Jews who defended their homeland, their huts, their little huts in the huts of a few barracks, which meant life to them with ten nails, the former had to break the resistance of their undemanding, simple and hardy opponent. For this purpose, brandy proved to be the most effective instrument. Encouraged by the Jewish sodomites and skaters, its consumption became a veritable national passion. The social contagion of brandy drinking wreaked terrible havoc among the Ruthenian people. Not only was their moral resistance destroyed, not only their intellectual faculties withered, not only their intellect faded, but they were also completely ruined financially. The plague of brandy also reduced his physical strength and his ability to work. The darkest misery fell upon him. Within a few decades, the plague had reduced the people to helpless, miserable pariahs. When he then realised his miserable situation, he felt there was no escape from this hell, and saw no other way out but to return to brandy. Whereas at first it was the brandy that had brought him to ruin, now he felt that it was his only consolation, his only friend, even his only purpose in life. Thus incapacitated, the Jew could now easily deprive his opponent of everything, his wealth, his human self-esteem, his freedom and his honour. Usury, deceit, perjury, false oaths, false bills of exchange, and the like, were commonplace and familiar tools in the hands of the Jews. Against such an adversary, such a mode and means of fighting, even the more battle-hardened and more resistant opponent would have been outmatched. And the Ruthenians! The fight had hardly begun before it was decided in favour of the Jews. Everywhere the Ruthenians were driven out of their tiny villages and tiny houses up the hillsides and into the forest edges. They lost their little fields, and all they had left was the robot and the brandy. They could only live their miserable lives as slaves at the mercy of the Jews, but only because their Jewish slave masters needed them. This Jewish invasion in itself meant destruction and annihilation for the Ruthenian people. Unfortunately, there were other serious problems to add to this. These deprived this deserving people of any chance of a better life. The huge mammoth estates spreading over the counties deprived them of the open air, and not only did the extremely agile people have no arable land, but they did not even know where to graze their animals. The poor land and the unfavourable climate ensured a very poor life anyway. In this crippled state, the ruined, desperate Ruthenian peasant had no choice but to emigrate if he had enough money or to be completely destroyed.

At the twelfth hour, in the late nineties, the spiritual leaders of the Ruthenian people, led by the Greek Catholic clergy in collaboration with Bishop István Firczák of Montauk, and some conscientious leaders of the local administration, joined forces with the determination to seek government intervention and assistance. After in-depth deliberations, they identified the most necessary things to be done, put their proposals in a memorandum and sent it to the relevant ministers. Above all, they spoke out against further Jewish immigration, called for an increase in the number of public schools, and proposed the promotion of cottage industries, namely halina weaving, basket weaving, wood tool making and the like. The government, especially the then Minister of Agriculture, Ignác Darányi, had the will and the will to help, but lacked the right person, the competent person, to organise and carry out such a major project. It needed someone with the necessary versatile expertise or ability, energy and resourcefulness, people skills and willpower, and above all enthusiasm for the cause.

Egan returned home from abroad at this time, and heard a little about conditions in Rutland. He was interested, went to the site, spent many months in the mountains of Bergen and Maramures. As a cattle trader, he travelled the countryside, came into direct contact with the people and got to know their situation. The impressions and experiences he gained exceeded all his darkest expectations. Egan was horrified and shocked to see the abject misery, the indescribable suffering, the immense evil and cruelty. His sense of justice revolted, he felt the need to help a people abandoned and helplessly struggling. The action of the bishops of Fircza came just at the right time. He drew up a detailed report of his experiences, and indicated the ways, means and means by which he believed the people of Ruthenia could be lifted out of their plight. Darányi, who had known and appreciated Egan for a long time, was immediately aware that Egan was the man who could organise the action in the mountains and achieve real results. Egan soon took over the Mountain Action as Minister Delegate, with the widest possible powers and full responsibility.

Egan got to work immediately, as planned. Nothing escaped his attention. He knew that only a united, comprehensive, all-encompassing effort could achieve results. Now was the perfect opportunity to take up his favourite cause, livestock farming in Hawaii. He wanted to provide new sources of income for the Ruta people by introducing dairy farming and livestock breeding. A special Inntal goulash was brought from the Tyrol to boost livestock farming in Ruthenia. Considerable pasture land was leased to the Ruthenian peasants from the neighbouring large manors.
In addition to creating opportunities for life, it was also necessary to ensure that the people were somehow freed from the clutches of Jewish money and commodity greed. The only way to do this was to set up credit and consumer cooperatives.
Otherwise, about the launch of the whole mountain action, its reasons and how it works. Egán gave a detailed account at a meeting held in Mukachevo on 12 February 1900, at the beginning of the second year after the action's establishment. In the following, we will also use his report as a basis for describing the workings of the Highland Branch.

In fact, the action launched by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1897 was aimed at helping not only the Ruthenians, but all the people in crisis in the Carpathians.The work among the Ruthenians in the Solyvai district of Bereg County was the beginning of the action. In full agreement with the ministry, the ministerial delegation worked in three main directions. First of all, land had to be acquired for the people suffering from a great shortage of land. The Minister therefore leased 12,622 acres of land from the Count Schönborn estate for 25 years. This was then distributed to 4,303 farmers in 41 municipalities. Initially, the land was only given out for a trial year and was only given out for a further 11 years on the basis of experience gained. This solution allowed the tenant to consider the land as his own and to farm it as productively as possible. In the allocation of the leases, the profit motive was completely eliminated. As a matter of principle, tenants were not even allowed to form associations, so that the economically weaker tenants would not take advantage of the stronger ones. In order to improve the quality of production, the branch set up three model farms in Verhovina, Bereg. Great emphasis was placed on the development of pastures in the hills. In order to improve the quality of livestock production, 1 600 breeding animals were imported over a two-year period. This is a sacrifice that no other country has ever made. Farmers received these animals on 5 and 4-year instalments. However, the repayment of the capital did not actually begin until the second year had elapsed.

One of the main tasks of the action was to ensure a fair supply of credit. Only in this way could the economic empowerment and financial self-sufficiency of the people of the highlands be hoped to be finally freed from the hands of their oppressors. Land credit was non-existent in this region. Even the small financial institutions in the countryside did not provide mortgage loans in this region, because experience had shown that when a peasant's land was put up for auction, all the usurers and tavern keepers in the region would join together like a cartel, the property would be valued at a very low price, they would collude at the auction and buy 20-30 acres for a few forints, and the financial institution would pay a very high price for the loan. The poor people only got money in the form of personal loans. The most common minimum interest rate was one forint a week for every ten forints, or 52 forints a year. But very often it was double or even four times that.

The only solution was a credit union. In Solyvai district, 11 such credit cooperatives were formed in a year and a half. The importance of this new institution was, of course, grasped by the merchants (Jews) much sooner than by the peasants. They wanted to join the cooperative en masse. They were in danger of becoming the majority everywhere and the credit cooperatives would soon fall into their hands. To prevent this, the branch took the formation of each credit cooperative directly in hand. In allocating loans, the cooperatives acted with great care and caution.

They determined exactly what the loan was for, if it was to pay off a debt to a loan shark, a member of the cooperative's board of directors would settle the debt with the creditor, if it was to buy cattle, a member of the board would go to the fair. The chairman of the cooperatives was always the local pastor. In the 11 cooperatives in the Solyvka district, 481 loans amounting to 54,219 crowns were disbursed during the seven months of operation. Without doubt, this credit cooperative action was the most significant part of the branch's work.

Of course, the formation of cooperatives did not go smoothly everywhere. Especially in Zug and Kisolyva, there were major obstacles to overcome. Both villages were located close to the Galician border, and their merchants had amassed considerable wealth in a short time, so that more than one went on holiday to Karlsbad. For 25 and 18 years respectively, even the municipal judge in these villages was Jewish. In Zug two thirds of the entire municipal property is now in the hands of non-Christians. They are in the majority in the council of deputies and rule the whole countryside as money powers. Their power and connections reach as far as Budapest. Only 45 people came to the founding meeting of the cooperative. The people coming out of the temple (the temple itself stands on land belonging to the Jews) were stuck in the tavern. Egan himself had to bring them over from the tavern. On his instructions the credit union was formed. However, the merchants soon talked the people out of it, so they refused to pay the instalments. The two priests of the village saw the situation as hopeless, wanted to flee and asked to be transferred. What was needed was a man with the courage to face the terror of the Jews. With special permission from the bishop, Pastor Géza Thegze appeared in Kisolyva and Zugon on behalf of Egan, whose house was burnt down four times in two years because he dared to organise a credit union among his parishioners.

His apartment was broken into by bandits at night, his wife was stabbed, and he escaped death by knocking down one of his attackers with a gun by his bed.

From the beginning, the Jews of Bereg viewed the state action with suspicion and hostility. The establishment of credit unions had already made them too nervous. With the establishment of the warehouses, their patience was at an end. From then on, they declared a fanatical fight against everything connected with state action. In fact, they persecuted anyone who joined in the state action, they set up a perpetual fence in front of the cooperative warehouses so that no peasant would dare to enter. Those who did buy their supplies there were not allowed to grind. This was all the more serious because all the

the use of mills was in the hands of Jews. The Jews threatened those connected with the credit unions with arson and even death. The warehouses, if they had not been secured from day one, would have been set on fire long ago. The open defiance of the Jews reached its climax when it was reported that the ministerial branch had gone to the Finance Ministry to obtain a liquor license for the credit union warehouses. Why did the branch decide to do this? In the mountains, brandy is no longer a luxury item. For a tired and malnourished population, brandy has become a foodstuff. Anyone who cares about the fate of the people must endeavour to ensure that this important nutrient reaches them in unadulterated form. Furthermore, to free the people from the demoralising influence of the taverns. The people are no longer ruined because of brandy, but because brandy goes through ten hands. Everyone pours water into it, but to make it strong, they add vitriol or other corrosive and unhealthy substances. On the other hand, the chief corrupter of the people is the tavern, because here they get drunk to take everything out of this pious people in this state. He who gives the people brandy in this country, holds him in his hand. The credit unions did not want to open pubs. So, measuring by the glass was strictly forbidden. It was simply a matter of giving the people unadulterated brandy for home consumption and, on the other hand, of freeing themselves from the influence of the pubs. Miraculously, the Ministry of Finance did not accept the proposal of the branch and made the granting of the licence conditional on the municipal councils' wish to authorise a further drink-measuring shop in addition to the existing pubs. This was another opportunity for the Jews to mobilise all their forces against the action. The Jews of Ung County, under the leadership of their Chief Rabbi, sent a monstrel delegation to Bishop Firczák to prevent the credit union from measuring drinks. A whole series of delegations visited the relevant financial directorates, the Ministry of Finance and influential figures, as well as the Galician miracle worker. In addition to credit unions, warehouses are no less important, and perhaps even more so. Only with their help could the people be freed from the commodity slave trade. If the peasant wanted to pay, the village bourgeois would not accept money. Only in this way can he achieve his goal, i.e. to settle accounts with his buyer after two or three years, who is then unable to pay, and then comes the bill of exchange, the bond and the auction. For bulk goods, the cooperative was content with a 5 % profit margin, while for more expensive, finer goods, the profit margin was raised to 12 to 15 %. Commodity warehouses soon became popular. Within a year, 12 outlets had opened in the Solyvai district, with a steadily increasing turnover.

Results and enemies.

Egan's report from Montauk, as we can see, painted a frank and honest picture of the situation. He said very little about the progress made, just a few figures. What has been done so far is partly an experiment, the aim being to take what has worked well and apply it to other areas. Nor did Egan underestimate the obstacles and difficulties that existed, on the contrary, he pointed them out without mincing his words. In this part of his report, however careful he was to avoid sensitive points, he could not remain silent about the hostility of the Jews, which in places had reached the point of murderous hatred. Egan was not initially anti-Semitic. If he eventually became one, it was the Jews who made him one. He did not come to Ruthenia to harm the Jews at all costs, but to help the Ruthenians in some way; least of all could he help finding himself in this endeavour at odds with Jewish interests. There is no doubt that in the struggle between the two peoples, Egan had no hesitation in siding with the Ruthenian because it was the weaker, the abandoned, the plundered, because it was on the side of justice. The fight with the Jews Egan did not seek it, it was forced upon him, and his role and mission did not allow him to avoid it. Egan accepted the challenge. And so began a relentless, knife-edge fight.

Egan has never shied away from honest and objective criticism. Rather, he sought and expected it. But he was merciless in the face of hatred and malice.
In fact, he was confronted with the Jews from the very beginning of the operation, because they saw him as their enemy from the start. All at once, almost on cue, everything was set in motion, the whole of Jewry, from the last little Jewish satrap in Verhovina to the influential editors and big capitalists in Budapest, to deputies, ministries, everyone moved at once and marched against Egan. They attacked him relentlessly on his human honour, found him ignorant, uninformed, frivolous, wasteful, dilettante, and a torrent of slander, open and veiled. But Egan kept silent and kept working. The facts and results proved him right. But he never boasted about them. Instead, he twice arranged cheap study trips to Verhovina for those interested to see for themselves. These were not comfortable, luxurious excursions, but tiring, difficult trips from dawn to dusk, but those who took the trouble to go on these trips were enriched with many experiences and lessons. Not only did they see the wild and rugged mountains of Verhovina, the immense and indescribable misery into which Jewish parasitism had largely plunged this people, but they also saw the great achievements of Egan's year or two of work, the credit unions, the warehouses, the shops, the rented land, the pastures of the hills and the Ruthenian people themselves, who had regained their self-confidence, hope and faith. Everywhere in the villages visited during the study tour, priests are lined up at the head of their clergy to express their gratitude and thanks to these people, who now feel cared for and want to help. Egan did not spare his guests on these trips, taking them everywhere, wanting to show them everything. In every village there were cooperative meetings, visits to the warehouse and a visit to the snowy mountains. The programme of the study tour in the autumn of 1899, which lasted from 6 to 12 September, i.e. a week, is presented in two days to illustrate how Egan tried to make the most of the time to give his visitors as much as possible. 8 September, 5 a.m. departure from Solyvka, 6 a.m. meeting in St. Nicholas of Bereg, 7.30 p.m. meeting in Frigyesfalva, 10 a.m. meeting in Upper Vyshynice, 1 p.m. departure on horseback from Upper Vyshynice, Puznyakfalva, via Patkanyoc to Great Mogyoros, 4 p.m. meeting in Great Mogyoros, return to Mukachevo. 11 September, 5 am departure from Verecke. At 7 a.m. visit to the Beskid Memorial on the Galician border, return to Verecke, 10 a.m. brunch in Verecke, 11 a.m. lunch in Lower Verecke. At 12 noon departure from Lower Verecke to Voloc, in the afternoon at 1 p.m. departure from Voloc on horseback to Fircák snow, at 4 p.m. departure from Fircák snow to the Nameless snow, staying at the Nameless snow. In 1899, the participants included Ignác Darányi, Minister of Agriculture, Viktor Hágára, Archbishops of Bereg, József Török, Count of Ung, János Pirkner, Inspector of Livestock, and Counts József Majláth and Imre Széchenyi. There was also Miklós Bartha, who wrote the everlasting document Kazár földön about this gentleman. It was precisely these great facts and achievements, which were also revealed on these trips, that intensified to the last degree the anger and revenge of the Jews. The Jews felt that Egan could continue his work for a long time if the scope of the action was extended from the Solovyva district to the neighbouring districts and even to the whole of the Bereg and Maramures counties, then the Ruthenian people will inexorably slip out of his hands, free themselves from the clutches of soulless usurers and greedy brandy measurers, regain their zest for life, their courage, in short, will no longer be free prey to Jewish parasitism. The Jews could not bear this, they felt their very existence threatened, it was

is the real spring of his revenge. Egan has come to terms with the attacks on him with an incredible peace of mind. And when he finally had the chance to speak out in Mukachevo, he did not attack this time either, but rather defended and proved himself. He had already spoken of the attitude of Jewry in the part of his report already described, but he had to go into it all the more when he spoke of the tasks of the future, when he had to show the omnipresent influence, the omnipotent power and the all-oppressive power of Jewry.

Among the other tasks of the branch, Egan emphasized the implementation of the land titling, ensuring the proper management of the grazing land in the mountains, and the amendment of the hunting law, because after all, the poor mountain farmer, if he sows oats, should sow them for his own use, not for the wild boar. It is not possible to maintain a situation in which the wild boar is fattening on the people's bread and potatoes, and finally, more and more grazing land must be provided for the people. However, the most important thing is to restore law and order in the North-East, where perjury reigns today and makes any justice impossible. Where it is easy to get not one, but a hundred witnesses in half an hour for 50 kroner to prove any unjust and untrue case, where, for example, Bilke or Szaploncsa are generally known as the regular bread-winner of the great part of the population, in a country where there is a regular custom of arson according to whether a house with thatch, tile or shingle roof is to be set on fire, where robbery is practised, where robbery and murder are rewarded according to the physique, age and strength of the victim, where the opposite witness is terrified of the length of the accused if he dares to testify against him, where the danger of arson and murder threatens the judge, where there is no known case in living memory of a poor peasant having received justice against his Jewish opponent of another faith, there can be no talk of justice in the European sense. The cancer of justice is perjury. There are only two ways to help here. Let each man swear by his own God. So the ritual oath must be restored, or if they say that it is impossible, then there is no alternative but to abolish the evidential value of the oath in those counties where this disgusting cancer demoralises our public life.

In a region such as the North-Eastern Highlands, where immigrants practise evading the law as a separate profession and where the skills are handed down from father to son, only special, exceptional measures can help the problem. Staggering examples of evasion are known in this region. For example, cases where a contract is signed with an unfortunate peasant who cannot read or write, according to which, in the event of a lawsuit, the district court of Edelény or Titel will have jurisdiction. How can the wretched peasant, who most of the time does not even have enough money to feed his children, think of travelling so far to attend a court hearing. He is convicted.
Day after day, cases are repeated of the poor peasant's property being lost because a contract is signed in which he is supposed to sell only half an acre of his land, but the contract is for the sale of the whole property.

In the last part of his presentation, Egan finally spoke about himself, his particular struggle and his situation. He insisted that he alone was responsible for everything he said in this regard. "I feel", he said, among other things, "that the statement I am about to make, in view of the currents prevailing in our country today, may cost me my job, but if I fail, at least I have done my duty. The personal aspect is quite beside the point. However, I cannot allow myself a single concession on the matter entrusted to me; the cause must prevail under all circumstances." The cause of the much-mentioned emigration is to be found here in the border counties, in immigration. These immigrants, according to Egan, are not the same as the true Semitic Jews of Palestine, the red, blond, tall, round-headed, wild, fierce, fanatical Galician and Ruthenian Jews of the former Khazars

(?) They are everywhere hostile, hateful, violent, cunning, power-hungry. The mountain commune has not closed its doors to them, it has given them land rents, livestock, and has involved them in credit union activities here and there. So he did everything he could to be at peace with the Jews, but the other side did not appreciate his intention. He has no hostile intentions towards the Jews, he is not anti-Semitic in the usual sense of the word, but he does not like the Jews as a race because he fears for the country, for the national character and the existence of the country. If the influence of the Jews continues to spread to such an extent, they will sooner or later destroy us, if they do not become honestly and truly Hungarian without any reservations. For a Jew, whatever his name may sound, who takes his orders from the Paris Alliance, who takes the side of the Jew against the Hungarian, whatever his crimes, cannot be considered a Hungarian. The Jewish proletarian masses of wealthless Jews, who have entered without any check and without any conscience in the last decades, must be sifted without delay. Most of them, moreover, are people who have no occupation whatsoever. There is no need for us to tolerate among ourselves those who can only support themselves by bleeding our people dry. No one can take it amiss for us to defend our own blood; it is not a matter of sectarianism, but a duty of self-preservation. That is why open defiance and covert mine-laying in the face of action can no longer be condoned. We declare a fight to the knife's edge against all those who side with the enemies of action. Our task is not to fight, Egan concluded, but we will fight if the sword is forced into our hands.

Egan's speech had a profound impact on those present. His audience repeatedly demonstrated loudly in support of him, and at the end of his speech the applause and cheering continued unabated. Speakers made proposals to extend the action to other counties. The liberal-minded MPs present, not daring to contradict the mood of the crowd, only made one or two vague allusions to disapprove of the details of Egan's speech on the Jewish question. The Budapest Jewish press, however, made a sectarian issue out of Egan's speech. They accused him of anti-Semitism, hatred and bias, and demanded his removal from the head of the action. Darányi was also heavily attacked. Egan, in an attempt to ease the situation of his minister, issued a statement explaining certain misunderstandings in his speech. Mr Darányi, moreover, came to Mr Egan's defence in the strongest possible terms, assuring him of his confidence and even extending his powers.

It seemed as if the Jews would have to resign themselves to the fact that Egan could not be removed from his place, when Paris Frigyes, the King's Prosecutor, who had privately made some studies in the field of cooperatives, came to his aid unexpectedly, and wanted to enter the Highland branch by this route. Although it was only a question of Paris acting as Egan's deputy, he wanted to use his expertise to set the direction for the whole of the action. Paris, in order to achieve his aim, criticised Egan's work from a petty point of view; his critical remarks were published in the Jewish papers, and soon a new offensive was launched against the work of the Highland branch. Initially, Egan himself contacted Paris, needing an understanding colleague with whom to share the work, and asked for Paris's assignment to the operation. But when he saw that she was incompatible, even a man of a completely different mindset, lacking any practical sense, he soon broke with her. His dislike for Paris was further aggravated by the fact that he had in the meantime learned of Paris's connections with Masonic and Jewish circles. It seemed reasonable to suppose that Paris was being smuggled into Egan's life by these Jewish Masonic circles in order to keep an eye on him and make his work more difficult.

and cause disruption across the whole branch. But Paris was not to be got rid of easily. In the end, Darányi once again sided with the former in his argument with Egan and Paris. Years later, when Egan was no longer alive and Darányi was no longer a minister, Paris tried to clarify his role in a small book. In it, he reiterated the objections to the action that had been constantly voiced in the Jewish press. That Egan was not thorough, not prudent, passionate, violent, not in touch with society, defying the authorities, not weighing up the options, building castles in the air, an enemy of Jewry. Paris, as his own recollections show, wanted to lead the action in a liberal, humanist spirit, he wanted to use the Ruthenian people without harming the Jews, he defended trade against the cooperatives, he made a long work programme of fifteen or twenty years, he wanted to solve the Jewish question by getting the Jews used to farming. Paris, moreover, denies in the strongest possible terms that the Jews had any means of opposing the Ruthenian action, and pleads his good faith and his contrary convictions. But the facts refute his defence. Apparently Ignác Darányi also had different convictions, because Paris, by his own admission, told him during his interrogation that he was suspected of having undertaken to dismantle the Ruthenian operation on behalf of a secret coalition.

The end.

The big debates then slowly died down. The Jews felt that they had lost the battle for the time being. Egan could not be removed from his seat. They certainly had not yet given up the final battle against him, but Egan could work in peace for the time being. He had new, big plans in his head. and new ideas, new ideas were on his mind. He wanted to get Maramaros fully involved in the work of the branch as soon as possible. But it was difficult for the moment. He worked night and day to discuss, to consult, to work for new successes.

In the midst of the great battle, on 20 September 1901, like a bolt from the blue, came the devastating news: Ede Egan was killed by a bullet on a small hilltop on the road to Uzhhorod in the early hours of the morning. The whole country was deeply shocked by the news. And Verhovina and its people were plunged in dark, painful mourning. Having lost a great benefactor, a tireless patron and saviour, how did Egan Ede die? Even today, we cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question. There were no eyewitnesses. Egan's companion was not with him at the time of the shooting. The facts and circumstances are in many respects quite contradictory. All that can be established is that Egan, hunting rifle in hand, had scrambled up the steep hillside and had barely taken a few steps when the fatal shot was fired. The details and results of the investigation, which was conducted with great care, have not been made public. The investigation was repeated several times, but the vague questions could not be clarified. The official position is that it could only have been an accident. The Jewish press in Budapest was suspiciously eager from the very first moment to make the public believe that Egan had committed suicide, probably trying to support this assumption by saying that Egan had been despondent in recent weeks, had been very depressed by the bad news, had been seriously troubled by nervous breakdown, and had probably decided to commit suicide in such a state of mind. On the other hand, those who were intimately acquainted with the degenerate struggle against Egan and the entire mountain branch, who were aware of the death threats Egan was facing day after day, and who knew the Verhovina gang world, knew that Egan was in constant danger of his life. But Egan himself knew that his life which is why he wanted to take out a larger life insurance policy earlier. The life insurers in Budapest were only willing to sign a contract with him after Darányi intervened. The Ruthenian people, the majority of the Hungarian public, were firmly convinced that Egan was the victim of a murderous assassination. The autopsy and repeated inspections of the scene were the testimony of Egan's companion, Chief Forester Rochlitz, his friends and colleagues. The testimonies of Archbishop Török and Bishop Firczák all ruled out the possibility of suicide. This assumption is contradicted, above all, by the personality and nature of Egan himself. The day before his death, he spent a long time with Bishop Firczák, with whom he discussed the details of the operation, its recent results and his next plans. So he was ready for the next day's work. The thought of suicide could not be on his mind. A careful examination ruled out even the unfortunate coincidence. On the contrary, there was more and more evidence in favour of murder. The footprints found at the scene, the traces of blood, the manner of the shooting, the failure to disclose the results of the gun test, all pointed to a premeditated murder. But whatever happened that early autumn morning on the highway in Uzhhorod, Egan Ede was no more. Hungarian public life was the poorer for a tough, forceful, militant personality, and the Ruthenian people were orphaned. The heroic struggle was over, darkness fell on Verhovina once again, and the Jews were free to go about their business again. The evil and dark instincts of revenge, however, did not rest until long after Egan's death. Months later, when the official investigation had established beyond doubt that suicide was out of the question, the Budapest Journal literally wrote: "the investigation has established beyond doubt that Egan committed suicide". Equality, which has also opened a special column to attack Egan, has stated that the work of destruction must not be allowed to continue and that public property must not be allowed to continue to be wasted.

Egan's death has caused deep and undivided condolences throughout Hungarian society. The university youth held a special mourning service for his soul brother. Soon after, a large-scale statue collection campaign was launched. Although the funds were soon raised, the statue has still not been erected. But it was the Ruthenians who mourned the loss of Egan most of all. Even the simplest Ruthenian peasant understood that the loss was immense and almost irreplaceable. Years and even decades later, they still remembered with devotion and love the Pan nobleman who had stood by them with all his heart and soul, with all his knowledge, will and even his life. Nesztor Dudinszky, the well-known Ruthenian paper writer, quotes Egan's memory several times in his work on the land of the slaves:

"Since 1868, a campaign of robbery has been going on... the Khazar devastation, only one man has ever met who dared to say to the avenging, stupendously reckless Khazar hordes, "no more, rabble". And he died in circumstances so mysterious. I have had occasion to speak with many a Ruthenian, and each, when I mentioned the name of Egan, took off his hat and looked sadly up to heaven, as if he had fallen back to his father from thence. Some of them even tried to quote, "Your Excellency Pan, misery will kill you if you don't come back!"

"There was a cooperative meeting in Kisberezna. Egan Ede attended the meeting. He made it a strict duty for the village magistrates to attend the cooperative meeting, and the people gathered. Stumpy, hungry figures, among whom walked nervously a red-faced, black-robed, brown figure with a long sideburn. The poor Ruthenian people respectfully made way for him, for he was in their hands. Egan Ede arrived and opened the meeting. Where's the judge? he asked inquiringly. Here I am, my lord, said the caftan-wearer, stepping forward. Egan then mingled with the people, and had a long talk with them, which resulted in the Jewish judge suspended."

A cold winter breeze is blowing through the valleys. It whispers, then quiets. It stirs the flakes of snow and comes out again for a few moments. Then it starts its mad chase again...
It sends its cold breath, drawing in the mountains, shrouding the lonely hills of the bogs...
And somewhere near Uzhhorod, in this mad chase, a cross stands firm and faces the land of Kazar...
It stands here as firmly as the man in whose memory it was erected, Egan Ede, stood firm and unbreakable...
The misty, foggy, wintry time, symbolic of transience, reminds me of that man and his earnings... reminds me of the immense suffering of a people, and the sobs of a people are lost in my lines, a people that has not awakened to its consciousness, weeping in front of the memory of a fallen hero...
Egan Ede is dead... he has reached every man's class part, death. But who brought it about is a mystery even now...
Consummatum est. The great saviour of the people is dead. Yet he could not pass without his memory being remembered... The many good deeds remained, the work plan that had given him the right to a great future, but was only just beginning... the question was whether his successors would be able to use the plan to erect an eternal memory of their great predecessor. It required great talent, great physical strength, great labour, an infinite good heart, great energy, a fanatical love of justice, an understanding soul, a straight backbone and a conscience. It required a new Egan Ede... and that is why his supporters have organized a collection for his statue, so that he may stand as an example to be emulated, a man who despised rank, salary, title, and retirement, only to serve the sacred cause of a people, and even to lay down his life...
A large sum of money was raised, the statue that was to be erected in Solyvka was completed, and a few years ago the committee set up for this purpose took over the statue, and the statue is still nowhere to be found...
So I rightly ask, not only on behalf of the donors, but on behalf of the entire Ruthenian people, where is the statue of Egan Ede?
The cold winter breeze is howling... and somewhere a people is crying for Egan Ede... somewhere justice is demanding the statue of the great man... somewhere the landscape is so sad on the snow-covered, black Verhovina...

The statue of Egan Ede was embezzled by liberal Hungary, and today's racist Hungary has an honourable duty to review this matter and see to its erection. IRODALOM:
Miklós Bartha: In the land of Kazar.
Jenő Bihar: Egan Ede was murdered. Nesztor
Dudinszky: In the land of slaves.
Frigyes Paris: Information about my work in the Ruthenian Action.
Report of the meeting of the state action for the improvement of the economic situation of the peasantry in the mountains, held in Mukachevo on 12 February 1900. Submitted by Ede Egan Ede, Minister Delegate for Amber.

Miklós Bartha

(1847-1903.)

Fight for Hungarian hegemony!

He was one of the most influential political figures of the turn of the century. If we try to analyse his political and ideological behaviour, he stands out as a fanatical fighter for independence, who stood up to everyone with his pen, his words and, if necessary, his deeds, for the rights of the Hungarian people and for national honour. Miklós Bartha's independence policy, however, is not just a meaningless chase after empty public law formulas, nor is it a stubborn oppositional stance. His stance is guided by higher national goals, and it is not under the influence of his anti-Austrian, or rather anti-dynastic feelings that he becomes a supporter of the independence policy, but because he sees the hegemony and leadership of the Hungarian nation in his own country threatened. His whole political career is guided by this ideal, this idea: to defend the supremacy of the Hungarians in the Danube valley against all overt or covert attacks. This ideal permeates his whole being, his whole spirit, and accompanies him throughout his public career. He sees the gathering storm clouds, he feels that they could plunge Hungary into disaster. He sees the secretly repressive ambitions of the court chamberlain, his short-sighted, often humiliating tactics, his distrust of our demands, which are a blow to our national honour. He sees the nationalist agitation which has been fanned by the encouragement of Vienna. He sees how the incited nationalities get a taste for blood, how they take violent and provocative actions against Hungarians. He sees the growth of their strength and organisation and, at the same time, the increase in their purposeful state-bombing activities. He looks to the future with concern and faces these threats with passion. It fights relentlessly and tenaciously wherever and with whomever it sees the vital interests of Hungarians threatened. He is fired by the same fiery temperament as Verhovay once was. As a native of Transylvania, he is well acquainted with the conditions of his narrower homeland, sees the upheaval of the popular balance and the decline of the Hungarian position, the gradual loss of space, the anti-Hungarian agitation of some of the Saxon leaders, the agitation of the Oláh chauvinists. He is therefore fighting for the defence and preservation of Transylvania.

But he did not fail to notice the other great danger, which was also unfolding at an increasingly threatening rate: the Jewish occupation of space, Jewish immigration, or what he called the Khazar danger. Nor was he deterred from expressing his views frankly by the fact that his position had incurred the dislike, anger and vengeance of almost the whole of Jewry.

He saw the inertia, short-sightedness and hesitation of the government authorities and the ignorance and superficiality of the Hungarian public, infected by the Jewish press. Throughout his life he fought a desperate battle against the impossibility of the powerful and the ignorance of the masses.

In his political struggles, Barthá was never driven by intolerance or hatred, always seeking understanding and agreement, but in a way that the vital interests of Hungarians, their moral authority and political leadership would protect him. He did not want oppression or injustice against others, but he was not willing to tolerate such things against Hungarians either. His deep and fervent racial love and passionate Hungarianism were combined with a strong sense of social justice. He was uneasy about the social and cultural backwardness of the Hungarian blood, the people of the Hungarian land. He was fully aware that the only way to maintain and increase the power of the Hungarians was to raise the living standards of the masses, because only then could we hope to strengthen their Hungarian consciousness. No one has ever seen so clearly and distinctly the life and death struggle which the Hungarians had to fight with hostile forces here in their own homeland. Miklós Bartha thought desperately of the ultimate consequences of this struggle. It was this sense of national danger that drove him when he wrote his great editorials, when he defended a Hungarian cause, a Hungarian truth, with delicious Hungarianism, with touching directness, sometimes with caustic wit and cruel irony. He stood up to anyone if he was convinced of the rightness and truth of something, he did not care about the consequences.

Few people at the turn of the century knew so intimately and so thoroughly one of our most serious and oppressive internal diseases, the nationality question, as Miklós Bartha did. He knew the situation in Transylvania well, where the problem was at its most critical and complicated, but he was also aware of the Serbian, Croatian and Ruthenian issues, and was equally well informed in these areas. He disapproved most strongly of the government's superficial, rootless, far-sighted nationality policy, which sought only to achieve illusory results, and which, with its clumsy measures, provided only a platform for attack and slander, without really defending the authority and position of the Hungarian people. The administration piled up error after error and ultimately failed to be consistent and strong where and when it was most needed, condoning challenges and agitations that often fully exhausted the concepts of treason and national vilification. He was defiant where he should have been forceful and strong where he perhaps could have been more lenient.

Bartha considered it a great mistake, for example, that the dubious, debauched existences were settled in ethnic regions as public officials, where these elements represented the national spirit and the Hungarian state spirit to a low standard. The most secretive, the most meagre human material was tastefully transferred to the foreign towns and provinces. In order that all sorts of unliving and squirming characters, writes Bartha, could get jobs and bread, they were placed in all sorts of jobs in the nationality lands. From the Hungarian national point of view, this must be considered the most inappropriate procedure. For the nationalities know us by such weak, idle, talentless people. The more such cases there are, the more blatant and the more unjustified the supremacy of the Hungarian nation in the eyes of the people living there. This system of bread distribution is not a Hungarian national policy, but a Hungarian national mischief.

The greatest omission in Bartha's view was that for decades virtually nothing was done to raise the material, economic, spiritual and moral status of the true Hungarians. The Hungarian countryside was neglected and impoverished.

The name of Miklós Bartha, as a young publicist, took wings early on. As the editor of the daily newspaper he founded and launched in Cluj, the Ellenzék editor, was highly respected and popular, especially in Transylvania. He became nationally famous after the brutal assassination attempt on his life. In early 1880, he wrote a few lines in his newspaper in defence of the Hungarian volunteers who were called Hungarian dogs by a lieutenant of the joint infantry regiment in Cluj. The lieutenant demanded satisfaction for the attack. However, Bartha refused. The lieutenant, who was in a delicate position, and one of his comrades in the editorial office then mowed down Bartha, who was determined to defend himself even when unarmed. Bartha received no less than 24 wounds on his face, head, hands and arms and was between death and death for days. As soon as news of the incident broke, thousands of people soon gathered in the streets outside the editorial office and staged a huge demonstration against the military, demanding satisfaction. The outcry soon became nationwide. The opposition in the House of Representatives demanded satisfaction in noisy scenes. The people of Cluj sent a large delegation to the king to deal with Bartha. The king spoke fine words about maintaining peace between the bourgeoisie and the military, but the perpetrators were never brought to justice.

Miklós Bartha was born on 14 November 1847 in Ragonfalva, Udvarhely County. His father was Bartha Gergely, who was sentenced to one year in prison for taking part in the fight for freedom. Miklós finished elementary school at home, went to the Saxon school in Sighisoara, and later became a student at the Udvarhely College. In 1866 he entered the Faculty of Law at the University of Budapest. He became actively involved in youth movements.
We already see him among the youth leaders. It is at this age that he makes his first contacts with newspaper writing. The death of his father encouraged him to take up a job. In 1872 he returned home and was elected deputy county clerk. In 1873, at the age of 26, he was elected deputy of the district of Székelyudvarhely, deeply disillusioned with politics by Kálmán Tisza's disloyalty to the independence ideals. Disheartened, he returns home and tries to put his small farm in Ragonfalva in order. Meanwhile, he devotes all his free time to his studies. He regularly studied political economy. In 1879 he again took up a modest post in Cluj, but he could not overcome his fascination for newspaper writing, and in the same year he joined the editorial staff of the Hungarian Citizen of Cluj. On 1 October 1880, he launched the newspaper Ellenzéket. His paper soon became popular and the most widely read and respected newspaper in Transylvania. Ellenzék was a new colour, a new voice, a new spirit in the life of the Hungarian press. In its pages, Miklós Bartha fought for years for the rights, interests and honour of Hungarians.

In May 1881, Bartha was elected as a deputy in one of the districts of Cluj-Napoca and in Silajdo Domlyo. The independence
one of the most outstanding leaders of party and politics. In contrast to the Romanticism of the Iranians, Ugrón embraced a more realistic vision, more in touch with reality and the universal national interest. Parliamentary life increasingly tied him to the capital, his ties with the Opposition loosened and his writings were published, for the most part, in Magyarország.

As a writer of fiction and as a public writer, we need not praise him, he is one of the immortals of our literature. His stories and articles are the eternal masterpieces of Hungarian writing. Delicate serenity, simplicity, contemplation, colourful, brilliant images, and metaphors from nature make his style incomparably enjoyable and vivid. Light, sunshine and life radiate from his writings. He was a fierce individual who sought and enjoyed difficult battles, but he was also able to indulge in the atmosphere of silence, solitude and peace. But when it came to a Hungarian grievance, he used the whole arsenal of his literary weapons. A storm raged, lightning zigzagged through his writings. But his most potent weapons were devastating sarcasm and irony. In this he was unsurpassed, unmatched. He whom once

on the tip of his pen, he became an inescapable laughing stock. Many could not stand Bartha's ruthless fighting style. Hence the many duels he had to fight.

Although he has always been a staunch supporter of the Independence Party, he has always taken a sober, realpolitik stance. Forty-eight is not his programme for its own sake, but because he is firmly convinced that cooperation with the court chamberlain is impossible, and that a common policy is to the serious, perhaps fatal disadvantage of the Hungarian people. But he was also aware that the constant and perpetual disputes about public law distracted the attention of the Hungarian public from other, perhaps even more serious, vital problems, such as the nationality question in particular. Time and again, he touched on the subject. He is perhaps the only one who represents a sober, self-conscious Hungarian position on this issue.

It is willing to grant everything to the nationalities on the basis of full equality of rights, but it expects and demands full, sincere and unreserved loyalty to the Hungarian state spirit. In fact, the nationality problem has grown during Bartha's quarter of a century-long public career into a fatal issue of Hungarian life. For more than twenty years, alone and helpless, he stood guard. No one wanted to understand him. In vain he warned, pleaded, demanded, urged. They thought that all he said and preached was mere dissent. He often attacked the government and his party for their inertia, their haste, their intransigence, but he also attacked nationalist incitement mercilessly. He would have liked to see peaceful and fraternal cooperation, but no one has done more than he has to achieve it sincerely. But he was pained to see that all these efforts were met with the most abject rejection by the obsessed with the idea of the Danube-Roman.

In the latter part of his life, when it became clear that secessionist tendencies were gaining strength among the nationalities, Bartha became an advocate of the most unquestionable national resistance and of racial self-defence. In the strongest terms, he rejects the assertion that there is any other nation than the Hungarian living in the territory of the Hungarian Empire. "In the territory of Hungary, the law recognizes only the Hungarian nation. The institutions were created only by the shaping hand of the Hungarian nation. Yes, there are people who speak Olá, although many also speak German, Tatar, Serbian, but there is only one nation, the politically united Hungarian nation, of which the members of the Olá, Tatar, Serbian and German races are fully equal to the citizens of the Hungarian race.

The most important principle in resolving the nationality issue, according to Bartha, is the absolute preservation of the unity of the state. The events of the last twenty-five years have proven that in the region surrounded by the Carpathians, only the nationality policy represented by Miklós Bartha can be constructive, lasting and relevant. The Trianon catastrophe proved that the Hungarian nationality policy of the half-century after the Compromise was fraught with grave and fatal errors, because it failed to preserve the territorial and political unity of the Hungarian Empire.

However, the events of the last few years have shown that the Central Danube basin is a closed geographical entity in which, by virtue of its numerical strength, historical role, racial characteristics, intellectual and moral capacities, the Hungarian people are in the lead. Any attempt to deprive the Hungarians of their leading role and to dismember the political, geographical and state unity of the Carpathian Basin can only be sustained for a time and must sooner or later collapse.

The Khazar question.

In fact, it was the nationality question that led Miklós Bartha to the recognition of the Jewish and Khazar question. In Transylvania, he was confronted only with the nationalist aspirations of the Oláh and the Saxons. The Transylvanian problem had always remained at the centre of his interest, but as soon as he moved to the centre of the great politics, the national politics, to the capital, he had to realise that there was a nationality problem not only in Transylvania, but also in other regions of the country. The nationality question is therefore not a Transylvanian problem, but a universal Hungarian problem. His day-to-day political and journalistic work prevented him from drawing a systematic and comprehensive picture of the nationality situation in a summary work and from charting the path to healthy development. He had to content himself with keeping a watchful eye on events and developments and making his voice heard whenever it was needed. Yet there was hardly anyone better qualified to devise a theoretical and practical system of correct, effective and constructive Hungarian nationality policy.

In addition to the Transylvanian question, Bartha reached the Ruthenian question towards the end of the nineties. It was at this time that Ignác Darányi, the Minister of Agriculture, also became aware of the situation in Rutland. He immediately recognised the need for urgent and far-reaching intervention. It was then that Ede Egan was given the task of organising the action in the mountains. Bartha, who had close links with Egan and Darányi, himself began to study the plight of the Ruthenian people. In the course of this work he was inevitably confronted with the Jewish question.

Bartha's position above him was difficult and delicate. By that time, the last anti-Semitic waves had died down. Istóczy and Verhovay were no longer members of the legislature, they had become quiet men. For years, not a single offensive or critical voice had been heard in Hungarian public life about the Jews. The press was now dominated almost without restriction by the Jews. Bartha himself was not, at least in the first half of his career, a pronounced anti-Semite. Although his dropped remarks and statements suggest that he instinctively sensed in Judaism the alien, the other race; the dangerous competitor against which we cannot stand. Bartha was certainly not free from the liberal ideology of his time, but he was not one of the doctrinaire liberal politicians who were prisoners of ideas and slogans. During his decades of intimate contacts with the press, he was able to witness how Jewry flooded the reductions and how it established a foreign spirit, far removed from Hungarianism. But he was deceived, at least at first, by the apparent assimilation of the Jews, by their linguistic and social adaptation to the host Hungarians. He believed in the possibility of the Hungarianization of the Jews. However, in Transylvania and in the interior of the country, in the capital, he could only meet this kind of Jewry, which was striving for external assimilation. In Ruthenia, he found himself confronted with another, strikingly alien face of Jewry. With his keen eyes, he immediately recognised the sociological reality of the relationship between the Ruthenians and the Jews, of the relentless exploitation and plundering of everything by the Jews, who were defenceless and unable to resist. He also has a deep sense of human justice and a sincere sympathy for the Ruthenians. He also appreciates their centenary source of unity with the Hungarians. He writes of them that they are one of those people who, for better or worse, have faithfully stood by the Hungarian people, who took part in the freedom fights of Rákóczi and Kossuth, and who have not and never had any secessionist aspirations.

Undemanding, simple and honest, this mountain people, barren, small, is in perpetual struggle with the harsh nature of its land. For centuries it has lived its simple, struggling

life in his small mountain villages.

Until suddenly, from beyond the great mountains, an alien breed comes pouring through in a dense, endless flood. The newcomers are cunning, cautious, flattering, humble and insidious. More and more of them are settling in villages and towns. They arrive empty, with little brother, but full of cunning, toughness and hatred. They do not work, they only buy and give. Everything goes through their hands. They are happy to give credit as long as they have the collateral; the little house, land, cow, but when there is nothing left to take, to throw away, they can be as ruthless as they were before. They will deny, cheat, forge, perjure, swear falsely, without blinking. A century-long, bloodless struggle between two races of quite opposite natures was drawing to a close when the Barthas visited this region. The one is the Ruthenian; pious, credulous, honest, ignorant; the other is the Jew; shrewd, greedy, avaricious, without moral scruples, knowing no mercy or pity, indiscriminate in his means. The Ruthenian people have become a slave, an outcast pariah in their own land. Miklós Bartha saw all this well, his human and Hungarian feelings rebelled against this state of affairs.

He also understood the details of the situation, how the Ruthenian people had been completely ruined, how they had become physically and mentally impoverished, and how rapid and radical intervention was needed. In a series of articles, he revealed the situation to the public. He could hardly have foreseen that his speech on this issue would offend the racial sensitivities of Jewry. So he appealed to the assimilated Jews, appealed to their Hungarianness and patriotism, and asked for their help and support. For their sake, he is turning the darkest, most shocking form of the Jewish question into a Khazar question. Perhaps it is out of pure conviction, for at first he himself could not or would not believe that the Jew and Judaism were or could be as he had come to know them in Ruthenia. It is also possible that from the very beginning he made the Jewish question into a kazarian issue out of political opportunism, in order to deprive Jewry of the possibility of branding him and his actions with the cheap phrase of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism was then synonymous with the accusation of the darkest reaction.

What exactly was the question of kazars in Miklós Bartha's formulation? As right, necessary and urgent as it was to raise the Jewish question in Ruthenia, it was just as wrong and inappropriate to classify it as a kazar question. The very starting point was based on false historical assumptions. In the fifth to the sixth centuries AD, the Khazar empire existed along the Black Sea, around the rivers Don and Dnieper. Its inhabitants consisted of Mongol-Tatar peoples of Turkic origin. Jewish merchants, who had infiltrated from Asia Minor and the Caucasus, managed to win the favour of the kagan and the court nobility to the extent that they converted to the Mosaic faith. After the destruction of the Khazar empire, the Jewish scattered settlers were dispersed in the area between the Baltic and the Black Sea. Later they multiplied with new Jewish settlers from the south and south-west', and to a lesser extent they were mixed in with the host peoples everywhere. Eventually, the Eastern Ashkenazi Jewry with its well-known racial physical and psychological characteristics emerged. Jewish historians and journalists in Hungary have been fond of presenting this as a matter of fact of Khazar origin and as such as having a certain kinship with Hungarian Jewry. Today we know very well that these assumptions are without any factual basis. For it is undoubted that the people of the Khazars did not follow their prince and the few noble courtiers who did not adopt the Jewish religion. In fact, the conversion of the prince to Judaism contributed greatly to the disintegration of the empire, for large masses of disaffected common people joined the neighbouring kindred peoples, such as the Kabars and the Hungarians. Of course, the blood of the races that had lived and died here or had been here and had left or had been destroyed during centuries of coexistence
to a greater or lesser extent, they also penetrated into the Jewish world. This explains the colourful, uncertain, often quite confusing, landscapes, countries, the

very different species profiles according to the changing environment. Diversity and mixing are not observed to such a great extent in any other ethnic group. The consequence of this great degree of mixture is evidently the inferiority of the Oriental Jews, so striking in comparison with the Sephardim, in physical, spiritual and intellectual terms alike. Its fanaticism, its sadism, its agitated nervous state, its heightened instincts, are all the result of this confusion. Alpine, Dinaric, Oriental, and Nordic blood-elements are equally recognizable in this tribe of Jewry, but here the pre-Asiatic and Semitic blood-elements are predominant and characteristic. But the same trained eye will undoubtedly recognise the blood, racial, spiritual and intellectual identity between the pure ghetto breed of the Ashkenazi Jew and his assimilated form, quickly and with undeniable artistry adapted to the environment of the host peoples.

Miklós Bartha, however, who observed the phenomena of nature, grass, trees, flowers, with such keen and alert eyes, and who could convey the parasitism of the Jews of Ruthenia with apt images and similes, could not recognize in the so-called assimilated Hungarian Jew the wonderful variety of mimicry. He could not see the ghetto with civilised urban life, the kaftan with European-style clothing, the Jew who exchanged the jargon with a corrupted, mixed Hungarian language, the kazar, the Oriental Jew. There is no doubt that this Jewish mimicry was thorough and perfect, that it covered every detail, but the lifestyle, the moral world, the intellectual conduct of the Jew who donned the mask of the invaders, in what respect did it differ in essence from that of the Jew in the ghetto. Events, however, soon disabused him of this belief. His articles on the Ruthenian situation, on the Jewish way of life, written with deep realism and a sincere desire for truth, provoked a general outcry among the whole Jewish community. All at once, as always when it comes to universal racial interest, Jewry was wonderfully united; there was no longer Orthodox or Neologue, assimilated Hungarian or Khazar, fanatical Talmudist or so-called cultural Jew, they were simply Jews, in a closed, perfect unity. The cause, the fate, the concerns and the troubles of the Khazar Jews were perhaps more painful to the enlightened Jewish intellectuals, stock exchange or editorial Jews of Budapest than to the bochers themselves of Maramures or Munkachevo. In any case, every Jew in his place, in parliament, on the stock exchange, in the editorial office, in the soda shop and in the CEO's offices, marched against Bartha. Bartha was also an anti-Semite, a prejudiced, dark Jew-hater - that was the general verdict. There were some Jews who were willing to admit that the Ruthenians were indeed in a crisis, even miserable, situation as a result of the proliferation of Jewry, but they were quick to add that this was only a natural consequence of the agility of a more vital, more vital, more agile race, a process that could not and must not be stopped. It is also in the higher interests of the State that the more viable elements of the population should multiply and become the majority. This Talmudic sociological argument, as appealing as it is, is just as false. In Ruthenia there was indeed a struggle between races, but the means and methods by which the opposing sides fought each other were demonstrated by Miklós Bartha in his fascinating articles.

Bartha wrote his first article on the Ruthenian situation in the Reggeli Újság on 6 October 1898, under the title The Ruthenian Question: 'No other part of our country is in such a deplorable situation as the places in the counties of Máramaros, Ung, Bereg and Ugocsa where the Ruthenians live. The situation is bleak from both an economic and a cultural point of view.
Mother Nature can hardly give a more striking example of how an organism can become stunted and extinct if it is overwhelmed by parasites than the Ruthenian

population. This people, morally terribly depressed, physically emaciated, is rapidly declining down the slope of destruction. Without intensive state intervention, an otherwise benevolent, peaceful, hard-working race, warmly attached to our country and nation, is dying out before our eyes. Those who can still work are emigrating by the thousands to America, the rest are destitute, starving in a frighteningly demoralised state of despondency and hopelessness.

The scum that flooded this part of the Highlands from Galicia in uncontrollably large masses had completely drained the vitality of the Ruthenian people.

Usury is a common and widespread phenomenon, writes Bartha in another place in his article. For every ten pennies, the soulless Jewish usurers collect l, 2, 3 pennies interest per month. The annual interest rate not infrequently fluctuates between 360 and 500 %. Under these circumstances, the land, the house, the cattle of the peasant will sooner or later belong to the usurer. The Jew continues to keep the peasant as a serf. Slowly everything belongs to the Jew, he owns the land, the house, the cattle and on top of all this the whole year's work of the peasant and his whole family, he sows, reaps, reaps, carries. One of the typical local forms of usury is the cattle rustling. The Jew buys a pair of steers for 70 forints. He gives them to the farmer for 100 forints for fattening. After two years they are sold for 140 forints. The Jew deducts the 100 forints he is owed, the remaining 40 are divided, the Jew receives 50 forints for his 70 forints, but in addition, for two years the farmer makes two days' work a week for the Jew free of charge.
Ruthenism is burdened by a double yoke, Bartha states in another article: the first is the serfdom of the Galician Jews, the yoke of poverty, the second is the yoke of intellectual backwardness, the yoke of ignorance.
Everyone knows that in our national struggles, the Ruthenian people have proved to be the most reliable of the foreign-speaking races. This people has never wavered from the cause of Hungarian freedom. It has never made any nationalistic demands. It has no special racial tendencies. It does not gnaw at the unity of our country and nation as a grinding sou. Struggling with great misery, it does not even think of indulging in nationalist agitation.

In defence of Egan Ede.

In fact, it was the Ruthenian and the Khazar question that made the friendship between Ede Egán and Miklós Bartha very close. Bartha knew the situation in Ruthenia very well. He had been up there several times, spending longer and shorter periods of time there. From the very beginning, he followed the mountainous operation led by Egan with vigilance. He knew the superhuman heroism of Egan's struggle against evil, lies, deceit, the Jewry of the élège and the ignorance of the Ruthenians. He appreciated his unrivalled knowledge, his conscientiousness, his incredible will, his ingenuity and his unprecedented vigour. He knew the invaluable value and importance of the work that Egan was doing. That is why he was outraged to the depths of his soul by the attacks on Egan based on false accusations repeated in the press and in Parliament. He also deeply regretted that virtually no one but Daranyi, not even those who were aware of the significance of the Egan action, had stood up for the attacked. He threw all his political and public weight behind his defence. In the 16 February 1900 issue of Magyarország, he wrote an article entitled Ede Egan. In it he describes in detail the work of the Highland Action and the role of Egan:

"Four hundred thousand people are suffering economic slavery in this region," he writes in his article in the introductory part. The typhoid fever is constant here. Half the flour is bark. The dwelling, stable and barn are built together. Man, pig and sheep live together. Egan studied the situation for many months. He went from village to village. He looked through court filings, lawsuit files, and browsing through bundles of records in tax offices and county archives. He studied in depth the people's relationship with the priest, the authorities and the tavern. His every step was accompanied by certainty, determination, willpower and a clear conscience. In 1897, he drew up an opinion report on the situation in Ruthenia. The report was reproduced by the Ministry of Agriculture. This report was 'the most stimulating reading of my life'. Egan lists only names and facts, but the picture is still a horrifying one. Scene by scene, the scale of the devastation is growing. Egan's statements were simple facts, but these facts cried out, wailed and accused. "Anyone who read it would have their eyes water with pity and their blood run cold with rage." In the oppressed he saw the sweat-soaked suffering, in the oppressor the beastly cruelty. In the beginning, the only problem was that there was little land and little work. Later on, the Galician proletariat began to flood in. They brought with them nothing but their strong instinct for life. It came like locusts. It had more mass than the soil could support. So it throws itself on man, because man has to live. Since it could not live on the earth, it covered the people.

The more agile, the cleverer, the more vital, the more inhuman party always defeats the more sedentary, the less experienced and the more inanimate. This is what happened in this part of the Highlands. The Ruthenian now has nothing. "His house, his garden, his land, himself and his family, his hut and his future, are rented out. A usury culture is rampant beyond imagination. Land, house, sheep, money, brandy, sunshine, pasture and who can even list the varieties of usury. Everything is already in the hands of the immigrants: haulage companies, woodwork, pasture, regale rents, the right to drink, commercial catering. Rákóczi's loyal soldiers became slaves of the Galician proletarians. The biggest problem is that the immigrants are of Jewish faith. This is a privilege. We cannot be objective, fair and forceful. If the immigrant were Unitarian, Calvinist, Lutheran, etc., we would deal with them forcefully. But these are the Jews who have come from nowhere, whose customs, immorality, profiteering, inhumanity are under the protection of a half-baked intellectual current. It is in vain to say that they are not those who fuse, become anti-Semitic, desecrate. Egan has found a way to help.
He takes into account the physical and mental state of man, all public and private relations, with a splendid sense and great care. He has already achieved a fine result. That's why there's a hunt against him."

And this chase just won't stop. In fact, day by day it has intensified. The greater his achievements, the more the impact of his work was felt, the greater the panic, despair, hatred and revenge among the Jews of the Highlands. More offensive, slanderous and denigrating articles about Egán and his work appeared in the Jewish newspapers. Former deputy prosecutor Frigyes Paris, whose role we have already mentioned in the chapter on Egan, appears. Bartha deals with Paris in two articles, and reprimands him harshly for his digressions. He writes of him as a man of no real skill, a schemer who wanted to keep up the feverish pace of the office, who could not reconcile the 16-18 hours a day with his comfort, and who wanted to keep the work of the operation 'calm'. The whole man is nothing more than a bureaucratic pickle. He wanted to take Egan's place, even though he had neither agricultural nor animal husbandry skills, and the operation needed both. Paris was not good at his job, but he hated his boss, suspected, slandered and accused. His accusations were found to be baseless, one by one, during the investigation.
The actions against Egan were therefore unsuccessful. But the Jews refused to resign themselves to losing the game. Soon new accusations and new suspicions emerged:

Egan wastes money, spends it on unnecessary things, the cost of the action is not proportionate to the cost, his work is irregular, hasty. These further attacks finally persuaded Bartha to write a series of lengthy articles in full detail on the whole situation in the Highlands, or rather the Highlands; the misery of the Ruthenians, the intolerable exploitation of the Jews, the beginnings, operation, results and impact of the Highland Campaign, and in connection with it, Egan himself. It was from this series of articles that Bartha later wrote his enduring and immortal work, In the Land of the Kazars. This book, as sociography, as reportage, as nature writing, landscape and ethnography, is unrivalled in Hungarian literature. In it, Bartha describes the racial struggle between Jewry and Ruthenianism with a wonderful, evocative power. The Jewish parasitism, the intricate, complicated, insidious, cunning, planned, all-absorbing, destructive, exploitative, peculiarly and exclusively Jewish social life, is so vividly, vividly and impressively portrayed that it is impossible to escape its influence. The characterisation of the Jewish figures and of Jewry as a whole is so vivid, natural and imaginative that it can hardly be rivalled by any other work of a similar nature. Bartha wrote his work in praise of the heroic struggle of the living Egan, but by the time the articles were published in book form, Egan had already been laid to rest by an assassin's bullet on the road from Monk's to Hungari.

Egan's fight for the cause he had joined and for his human honour did not end with his death. Even after his death his enemies could not and would not rest. The spectres of revenge and hatred still crept forward to throw mud at his memory.
Already in the land of Kazar, Bartha characterises Egan's personality in a direct and compelling way. "He does not look at our race, its qualities, character, habits, sufferings, patriotism, as we look at it, who are atomic particles in the bloodstream of the nation. He stands outside. He is not melded into us, but loved into us. He feared us more than we feared ourselves. He knows us better than we know ourselves. He loves us more. He looks upon our race with the adoration of a lover. He outlines our beautiful features with the artist's reverence. Our folk costume enraptures him. He is intoxicated by our folk songs. Our whole being is transformed, beautified, made perfect in his soul. There is no need to dwell on it.
In love with our species. That says it all.

Careful, thorough, down to the smallest detail. In execution, he is lightning fast, swooping down on the job like an eagle on its prey and finishing it quickly, without mercy. The most antipathetic word in his vocabulary is 'impossible'. He cannot reconcile himself to the idea that what he thinks is right cannot be done.
In the warehouses, he vomits, throws, lifts, stacks like a pieceworker: in the shops, he examines, counts, revises and counts letters, bars, bills, like an accountant: on the snowy roofs, he walks, slides, clings, toasts bacon, sleeps in the woods like a woodsman.
But he also has songs, if he is a good gypsy, he walks the parlour floor as surely as if he had never left it."

Now that there are still unworthy and disparaging, even suspicious voices about Egan after his death, Miklós Bartha, as a loyal comrade, comes to his defence. In a lengthy article about Egan in the 8 October 1901 issue of Ellenzék, he explains the sincere and true friendship he had with Egan. He trusted me. He called me his best friend. He took that friendship seriously. He was a man in every joint of his body and soul. He was brave, outspoken and straightforward. He abhorred lying. He despised posturing, hated farce. His character was as solid and transparent as the purest diamond. His soul was fused with my soul. He did not dream, he acted. He was a positive spirit with a startling energy. He wanted to see success, so he hurried. "While you were alive, you were persecuted,

now you're dead, they're kicking your grave!"
Ten days later, also in an article for the Opposition (A memorial to Egan), Bartha proposes a collection for the erection of a monument to Egan. In it, he says that Egan had no title, no rank, and no pension entitlement. Hungary remains indebted to the privileged and heroic spirit of Ede Egan, who lived without claim and died without reward. Let us commemorate Egan Ede!"

The memories of the fight with Egan never faded in Bartha's mind. He continued to follow the situation in the Caucasus for the rest of his life, and sincerely regretted the failure of the movement started by Egan, which had achieved such beautiful results. In several articles, he described the situation in the Caucasus in dark colours, calling for a new urgent intervention and the launching of the mountain campaign. He is particularly concerned about the constant immigration from Galicia. In his article New Migration (Hungary, 24 January 1902), he warns of the massive emigration of Jews from Russia. The worthy element remains here, but the lower part of the population continues to migrate. Romania is taking administrative and police action to protect itself. In this matter there is no liberalism. Those who cannot get into Romania and those who fall out of the Galician sieve as useless gizgaz, all flock to our country. We do not defend ourselves, as many people come to us as they want. Where they come from, what they live on, no one asks. Where yesterday there were no caftans, today there are 12, tomorrow there will be 15. It's strange that we're very vigilant in protecting our cattle farms against the eastern cattle plague. But it's only an economic question. We are not, however, defending the people of our country against the Russian-Polish Jews, even though this is also an economic issue, as well as a moral, national and cultural issue.

Everyone knows that these immigrants are fanatical about their customs. They establish these habits with a dogmatic feeling. Their behaviour, their diet, their world view, their clothing are governed by the most rigid religious traditional laws. They would depart from their nature, abandon the closed rigidity of their way of life. Their spiritual salvation is intertwined with the sideboard, the kaftan, kosher food and many other superstitions.

Hungary is displacing hundreds of thousands of that element, which is incapable of culture. It is placing it among the lowest strata of the people, as if it were only putting mould in wine barrels. There could be no better way of figuring out how to corrupt the material of the people. The immigrant army has the advantage over our people that the parasite has over the host plant.
These immigrants are the same everywhere. Settlers are like newcomers. Their occupation is money, goods, pub grub. When necessary, they cheat, forge, steal. They do not adapt to our customs, they do not care about our morals, they do not speak our language, they do not merge into the body of the nation. They are an evil and pernicious race, whose masses we can neither bear nor digest. Immigration is a great danger to our country. And our leaders are saturated with Common Cause and Liberal wisdom and have no thought for the defense of our country.

Miklós Bartha died in 1905 after a long illness. The Hungarian society sent its sincere and deep condolences to his final resting place. With his passing, one of the most militant racialist personalities of pre-war liberal Hungary disappeared from public life.

In the last years of his life, Bartha, as a final testimony to the struggle he fought with Egan, realised that there was no separate Khazar question, but only a single, universal Jewish question.
Hungary's one million Jews are equally part of the alien race whose extermination of the people of the Highlands he has called public attention to. Yes,

Miklós Bartha also realised that a huge, united, thousand-faced, thousand-armed Jewish front was confronting the Hungarians as conquerors, slowly dominating everything that meant power and influence. While Hungarians are being ruined, impoverished and emigrating, the Jews are growing, multiplying and dominating. This realisation filled him with deep concern. For he had to see that the Hungarian nation was grinding helplessly between two millstones, two destinies, two dangers, unable to resist. One of these dangers is increasingly attacking the territorial and state unity of the country, while the other is crumbling our racial, moral, spiritual and popular strength from within. Who can say which is the greater, the more fatal opponent? After a lifetime of uninterrupted struggles, Miklós Bartha had to realise that, in addition to the national danger against which he was primarily fighting, there was another, more hidden, but perhaps even greater danger, and that was the Jewish one. Against national agitation it was at least possible to fight openly, but against Jewry, so great a force, so powerful, so possessed of power, this was no longer possible.

IRODALOM:

All the works of Miklós Bartha. (Collected edition.) Gábor
Kemény: This Land Hungary

---- for the third part ----

THE HUNGARIAN FAJVÉDELEM TRAVELLERS Part 3

Miklós Szemere

(1856-1919.)

"I speak because I love my race and I want it to live free, happy and not perish!"

A Hungarian gentleman.

(His own age did not know him well and truly, still less did the generations that came after him. Although his social life took place in the public eye, many people were justified in believing that Miklós Szemere's life, his personality, his human nature were an open book, with no secrets, no mysteries. But those who were close to him know that he was in fact a double self. The first was a man of society, who, with his obliging, refined manners, inventiveness, wit, deep culture, worldly vision, respectful and attentive magnanimity, charity and generosity, was universally loved and popular. The other was the pensive Hungarian, who had an unquenchable love for his race, who, rising above the petty squabbles of daily politics, watched the goings-on of public life and saw with no secret concern the degeneration of this public life, the fading of moral standards, the slow atrophy of ancient Hungarian virtues, the dangerous encroachment of foreign spirit, morals and thought. He loved his race, of which he himself was one of the purest and most original representatives, to the point of rapture. With few words, but with many sacrifices and deeds, he did all he could for it. The public opinion of his time was given a completely false picture of Szemer by the deliberate statements in liberal newspapers. The tabloid press, always hungry for sensationalism, exaggerated, distorted and embellished the more eventful episodes of Szemére's social life.
From these newspaper articles, Miklós Szemere does indeed come across as a card-playing, horse-racing man of the world, who lavishes money lavishly. Without doubt one of the most popular and most talked about figures of Hungarian social life at the turn of the century. But what is also certain is that this social life was only an appearance, only a facade, behind which dwelt a soul, a personality characterised by a deep and pure love of country, a selfless interest in public affairs, a multifaceted knowledge, a deep political culture, a broad vision, the instinctive qualities of political leaders, statesmen and a serious sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation.

Yes, behind social appearances lies an industrious, busy, creative and constructive public career. Only the experts know that Miklós Szemere has done invaluable, largely pioneering work in both the development of the Hungarian shooting sport and the revival of the declining Hungarian horse breeding industry. It would go a long way if we were to consider these and other similar constructive, organisational and proactive we would want to honour his work in a way commensurate with its importance. We must be content here with describing Miklós Szemere's public activity in the narrow sense and presenting him as one of the most ardent and dedicated fighters for the protection of the Hungarian race.

If you look at the pictures of Szemere, you will see an imposing, impressive-looking, dashing, tough and proud Hungarian gentleman who commands respect. We see before us a typical representative of the tribal, Turanian leadership of the Hungarian occupation. His eyes radiate the self-consciousness of those called upon to lead, spiritual superiority, pride, but not vanity: humanity, goodness, but also vigour, openness and sincerity. We imagine the leaders of the Volga or of the conquering, country-building and organizing Hungarians as such. Szemere represents that stratum and type of Hungarians who bled to death in the bloody struggles of centuries, who almost died out completely. His spiritual and intellectual qualities are a perfect complement to this image based on his physical appearance. His distinguished, refined, yet direct manners, his frank, outspoken nature, his ability to grasp the essentials of every question, his profoundness, foresight, logical reasoning, dispassionate position, sober moderation, prudence, steadfastness, all qualified him to play an accurate part in Hungarian political life. Nothing could be more characteristic of our unhappy internal relations than the fact that he, like so many other individuals called upon to lead, was unable to obtain this place and role which he deserved, mainly because he refused to take part in the daily wrangling of party politics.

Miklós Szemére was born in Kis Azar in Zemplén County in 1856. His father was István Szemere, his mother Mária Török Oroszlánosi. The Szemere family is known to be one of the oldest Hungarian noble families. Its origins can be traced back to the conquering Huba chief. Miklós' ancestors include only one foreigner.
Kelemen Szemere, the castle captain of Visegrád, married Stolcz Magdolna, the lady-in-waiting of King Matthias' wife Beatrix. Many of the ancestors have written their names on the pages of Hungarian history. They have always faithfully fulfilled the bloody and heroic task of defending their homeland. There they shed their blood in the battles of Moh and Mohács. At the siege of Perlas, Pál Szemere, commander of the 10th Battalion of the Hungarian Defence Forces, fell. István Szemere, Miklós' father, was wounded at the siege of Budavár. János Szemere lost his sight in the infamous Josephstadt prison.

Miklós completed secondary school in Miskolc, Sárospatak and the Teréziánum. He then studied law in Geneva, Oxford and Cluj-Napoca. His high school tutor, the late Lajos Felméri, was a distinguished teacher who undoubtedly had a profound influence on Szemere's entire outlook on life. He obtained a doctorate in political science from the University of Budapest and passed the diplomatic examination. He first served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later became an attaché and secretary at the embassy. In this capacity he spent extended periods in St Petersburg, Paris and Rome. After leaving the diplomatic service, he returned home and soon became actively involved in Hungarian public life. He was repeatedly elected as a deputy in various parts of the country. He supported all Hungarian and philanthropic movements with princely generosity. He is especially fond of the affairs of youth. He maintains the closest relations with the nationalist movements and organisations of the university youth. He has already made major trips abroad. He has travelled not only in Western Europe but also in the Balkans. Everywhere he makes valuable and valuable contacts with political leaders and makes many sincere friends for the Hungarian people. His travels are not idle amusement, but regular study. He observes the inner life of different countries and nations with a keen eye, sees what is strong and valuable in their lives, but also sees their weaknesses.
It studies the internal political life, popular and social relations of European countries. A

is fluent in all the world's languages. His international contacts span almost the entire continent. He is a student of politics, military and history. He is deeply honoured by what he sees abroad. He is particularly attracted by the fresh impetus and closeness to life of the educational systems of Western European countries. He views our public conditions with concern. The decline in moral standards, the lack of fair play, the spread of selfishness, profiteering, hatred, blasphemy and indifference, the proliferation of lies and hypocrisy, in other words, everything that many people and public opinion as a whole have not noticed, but have become so commonplace, leads him to criticise our public conditions harshly and without any equivocation.

His first high-profile appearance was at the National Casino in 1897.
It was his speech at Széchenyi's wedding. In this speech, Szemere paints a devastating picture of our public conditions, without any reference to party politics. Referring to Széchenyi's generation, he said:
"In those generations, gentlemen, there was virtue. The brain was clear, the heart was enthusiastic, the muscles were steely, and István Széchenyi could build with stone, and if anyone wants to build today, the new Széchenyi of today's generation will only be able to do so if he has loam at his disposal.
We are rowing towards a certain social nihilism, on the not distant shore of which I see the motto: "In Hungary, the decent man has to run his career with too great a handicap-load. We do not reward virtue enough and punish vice enough.
We must return to the spirit of Széchenyi if we want the Hungarian people to be happy again."

Szemere's speech provoked a great debate on all sides. It was like a bolt from the blue. We were basking in the glory and splendour of the millennium when this speech both boldly and blatantly highlighted the gaping chasm and the glaring contradiction between outward appearances and inner reality. His bastard is under attack. In two editorials, Miklós Bartha defends him, admits that he is right, but criticises him for not going one step further and revealing his internal problems in full detail. The attacks prompted Szemeré's political friends to celebrate him at a private dinner. The nationalist and Christian-minded section of the university youth, which was at this time organising itself under the name of the Cross Movement, was very enthusiastic in recognising in Miklós Szemere the public spokesman for the ideology for which he had founded his movement and his group. It prints thousands of copies of Szemere's toast and rallies behind him in a united front.

This relationship between Szemere and the youth, loyal to national traditions and the racial ideal, remained unchanged throughout. Szemere encouraged the youth to stick together, to stand their ground, and supported their cultural and sporting life to the fullest. The fact that a group of young people stood by Hungarian ideals in the face of the growing Gallic Masonic movement was in no small part due to Miklós Szemere.

The university, an important cultural institution of national culture, was at that time already the target of a growing attack from two directions, from Freemasonry and Judaism. Year after year, a growing proportion of the students were Jews, and in some faculties and year groups, Jews even reached a numerical majority. On the other hand, more and more Jews were awarded university degrees. More than one of the Jewish professors openly proclaimed cosmopolitan materialistic Jewish ideas, openly opposing the national idea and Hungarian and Christian traditions. The cross-movement of the youth, first covertly and then openly, opposes these conditions, demanded the university

ensuring its Hungarian and Christian character, reducing the number of Jewish students, removing Jewish professors. The courageous action of the youth was much talked about at home and abroad. Official liberal pro-Jewish government policy frowned on the movement, fearing that the youth's stance would be echoed in other circles of society, and on the other hand, the repeated attacks by the Jewish press worried the youth, so it tried to suppress the youth's organisation with all the means at its disposal.
At the same time, prominent public figures such as Miklós Bartha, Ivor Kaas and Miklós Szemére were the most outspoken defenders of youth. The youth, gathered in the cross-movement, were, of course, not content with giving outward expression to their feelings, but organised debates and lectures for their own education and to enrich their intellectual armoury. They discussed the most pressing Hungarian issues: the settlement of settlements, the cooperative movement, the crisis of the middle class, immigration and emigration. In order to express the youth's affection and respect for Szemere, he asked for permission to name a society after him, to be organised from the members of the Grand Committee of Christian University Youth. Szemere was happy to grant permission, and the Szemere Miklós Target Shooting Society was founded, which was the umbrella organisation of the Hungarian Cultural League. Within a few years, this organisation had grown into a significant social factor. This camp became the only social association of the elements of Hungarian intellectuals who consciously adhered to the national idea and the racial ideal. It was here, in this society, that all those men who recognised the destructive influence of Judaism, Freemasonry and the prevailing liberal spirit on our national life met, irrespective of their party affiliation, even before the World War. This organisation alone had the strength to stand up to the radical Jewish Masonic mine-working and to defend the moral, spiritual and racial heritage of the Hungarian people and to stand up courageously for national ideals. The Szemere Miklós Society was not a political organisation in the usual sense of the word, but throughout its existence it faithfully served the universal Hungarian national policy. It honoured traditions and cherished the sacred heritage of our history, but it stood up for modern political and social development. With all his strength, he sought to lift the ruling classes, who had lost their sense of vocation, out of their weary indifference. His importance follows from all this. If the reach of his work was not sufficiently wide, the responsibility lies with the Hungarian intelligentsia, which did not realise the important mission of the Society, or only belatedly.

Only towards the end of the World War, when the signs of revolution were multiplying day by day, when the incendiary Jewish press, the Világ and the Népszava, were openly inciting to revolt. Only then, when the cold breath of the end of nature was sweeping across the Hungarian plains, did mass interest turn to the Miklós Szemere Society. Everybody felt that the forces of destruction could only be stopped, if at all possible, by the unity of national forces. The work of the camp was directed by Miklós Szemere himself, and it was his willpower and confidence that kept the members together and kept the spirit alive. In the weeks immediately before the outbreak of the Jewish Revolution in October, the Society began a large-scale organizing campaign to prevent any violent, subversive efforts, if necessary, even with weapons. The underground forces of the revolution were faster. Even before the organised national forces could take up their positions, the capital and then the whole country was taken over by the mob. Amidst the dirty turmoil of the revolutionary waves, the Miklós Szemere Society tried, as long as it could, to unite the national forces and save what could be saved. But charged with counter-revolution, it could not continue its activities for long. And the Red reign of terror even ransacked its premises. It was only after the counter-revolution that its work was resumed, now with increased vigour, but without Miklós Szemere, who died shortly after the proletarian dictatorship at the age of sixty-four, after a great deal of mental trauma.

initiated and implemented.
Although Szemere was at the forefront of Hungarian political life for decades, he always managed to rise above the bickering of daily politics. Although he was part of the political life of our country, he had a larger, higher perspective on events, which is perhaps why he saw most issues more clearly than others who were blinded by narrow party politics. Of the political problems that dominated his own time, he was a supporter of honest and sincere agreement on the question of public law. He wished the nation and the ruling house, each in its own well-understood interests, to understand each other, and he himself carried out this honest reconciliation. Always speaking of the monarch with the greatest respect and reverence, he was one of the few who could win the confidence and friendship of even the reticent Franz Ferdinand. His loyalty to the dynasty did not, however, prevent him from speaking up for the just and equitable national demands of the Hungarian people at home, in parliament or in Vienna at the meetings of the delegations.

Being outside the party framework, on the one hand, won him many sincere friends and enthusiastic supporters everywhere, but on the other hand, it meant that he was never able to realise his political ideas, intentions and ambitions. When he did speak, he was mostly supported by all parties, because whenever he spoke, he did so on a public issue and never from a party point of view. He was rooted in the Hungarian past, but he looked to the future and always thought in European terms. His deep and pure idealism was admired by all, even by his opponents. Most of his politics were about defence and racial protection. He was more concerned with the general principles of the issues raised or discussed than with the practical details.
Everything for Hungarians, for the Hungarian race - this was the essence, meaning and purpose of his entire political career. In his eyes, the fate and prosperity of the Hungarian nation depended on three factors: firstly, a purposeful, far-sighted and capable foreign policy, and we shall return to this issue later, a modernly equipped army, particularly well trained in target shooting and with a dynamic spirit, and thirdly, the Hungarian land and the Hungarian peasantry that was intertwined with it. Arms, land and diplomacy at the height of his profession were the three issues which ultimately preoccupied him throughout his life. But he did not ignore the issues of everyday life. He was the first to bring up more than one interesting idea. We will mention only those issues relating to the press: the restoration of the loose press ethics, the relationship between the press and capitalism, the creation of a press law, the setting up of a school for journalists, all of which he raised with great interest. One of his main ambitions was to restore honesty, sincerity and integrity to Hungarian public life. He has written and said on more than one occasion that the governance of Hungarian political life is not based on ideals, and is full of lies and hypocrisy. Few words have been used to criticise the moral shortcomings of Hungarian political liberalism as severely as Szemere. Széchenyi was his role model, and he saw the future of Hungary as being secure on the path he had set out. He knew no compromise, he did not accommodate himself to anyone, nor did he flatter, either upwards or downwards.

His parliamentary speeches were characterised by brevity and conciseness. He avoided all unnecessary verbosity, avoided false posturing and posturing for effect, and yet there was a noble loftiness and dignified solemnity in his words. He does not seek to be a rhetorician, his delivery is simple, natural and direct, yet it leaves a deep impression on his audience. His style is characterised by a selectivity which is palpable in the way he presents his historical culture. There is a subtle serenity and sarcasm in his words, albeit infrequent. The impact and importance of his speeches is better demonstrated by the fact that the press almost word-for-word, regardless of party affiliation, and mostly accompanied by commentary. His writings - four of his political essays appeared in Ideal, My Young Blood, Fair Play, and later even in Modern Argonauts - deal with the healthy development of the national public spirit.

An active foreign policy.

Half a century on, perhaps the most illuminating are his articles and writings on foreign policy. It is incredible how much insight and realistic political sense he had. Few people could weigh up international events and the balance of power as accurately and as correctly as Szemere. His diplomatic skills would have earned him an important place in the management of the monarchy's foreign policy. Many things would certainly have turned out differently if he had been listened to. He was 'one of the most skilled, educated and talented diplomats'.

First and foremost, it recognised the pan-Slavic threat in all its magnitude. For years he had been warning of Russian war preparations, their aggressive intentions and their collaboration with the Serbs. He demanded a foreign policy of action and vigour in the face of the growing Slav threat. If we cannot do otherwise, we will eliminate the pan-Slavic threat by military intervention. But in no case should we wait until the Serbs are fully prepared militarily to launch war against the dual monarchy at a moment that suits them. Let us not cede the initiative to our enemies. Semyere had an excellent knowledge of Russian internal conditions, social imbalances and the hundreds of popular forces pulling on the country. He was particularly concerned with the Ukrainian question. He took it for granted that Russia would not be able to resist the monarchy's forces in the event of war, and that such a war would inevitably end in the complete disintegration of the Russian artificial state structure. Likewise, he considered it inevitable that Serbian chauvinism should be vigorously crushed, "Hungary must invade Belgrade", he declared more than once. Ten years before the outbreak of the 1914 World War, he warned emphatically that in the southeast, in the Balkans, the natural allies of the monarchy and, more closely, of us Hungarians, were the Bulgars and the Turks. Our relations with them must be deepened by every means, both intellectually and economically. Although in this respect too he was primarily guided by realpolitik considerations, he made no secret of the fact that the two Balkan peoples were also bound together by the ties of common Turanian descent and blood. For his part, he did his utmost to establish a genuine and genuine friendship between us and the two peoples.
He visited Bulgaria and Constantinople several times. He was on good terms with many leaders of Turkish and Bulgarian political life. These contacts played no small part in winning the two nations as allies during the world war.
At the meeting of the delegation on 21 December 1906, the Bulgarians were remembered, among other things, with the following warm words:

"I am far from any emotional politics. In fact, I will say it without any pretense, that emotional politics is the greatest luxury, we can't stand it, and even more powerful nations have fallen into it.
There is a Balkan state whose population is the hardest working, the most industrious, the most persistent. Its people are of the Ural-Altaic race, but they have lost their language and their language has become pure Slavic. It is not difficult to guess that I am talking about Bulgarians.
Their army is organised like a model. They are very good soldiers, well trained in target shooting.

The Bulgarians have never sinned against us. Neither Austria nor we have any Bulgarian subjects. Bulgarian irredentism does not exist in our country, no one from us is attracted to it. All our political interests run parallel and do not clash anywhere. Besides, according to the Richelieu principle, they are our neighbours' neighbours.
So what would be more natural than for us to be on the best possible footing with the Bulgarians, they are strong, they can be relied on. The Japanese of the Balkan Peninsula are the Bulgarians.
They are a hard-working, industrious, valiant people who must be rewarded. This young nation is making its way on its own, free, without foreign help, let it be, but let us not push it. Turkish and Bulgarian will understand each other in time, they are the most serious element in the Balkans ..."

Szemere always attached vital importance to our alliance with Germany. He knew Kaiser Wilhelm personally and always remembered him with the greatest respect and reverence.

Especially in the years immediately preceding the world war, he urged the activism of our foreign policy with an unusual passion and impatience. The passivity which we are pursuing means that we have to keep a large army on constant armed alert. If we are prepared and capable, we should not hesitate to reckon with the ever more imminent pan-Slavic Russian-Serb threat. With our Turkish brothers, we will overtake the Slavs, he wrote in a foreign policy article some time before the outbreak of the world war.
He warns the Turkish people that a nation which no longer has political demands can no longer rise, only sink. The pan-Slavic tendency under the auspices of Russia is equally dangerous for us and for Turkey. Referring to Russia and Serbia, he characterises the situation in the following short sentence: 'if we do not want to be cut to pieces, we must come to terms with the idea of being operated on by us'.
"We are not leading, but we are suffering the hardships of foreign policy", he says a few months before the outbreak of world war. The Russian press is already openly writing about the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. Undoubtedly, if Russia is not rendered harmless, i.e. if we do not divide her, we will be torn apart. For us, delay, passive peace-loving in the face of an impending threat, is as good as hara-kiri, certain death. An apt term to describe the inertia of Ballhausplatz was 'eunuch foreign policy'.

Szemere, as we can see, had predicted the events of 1914 years in advance, but how different things might have been if the foreign policy of the monarchy had been directed by men like Szemere, who did not suffer events but determined their course with a heavy hand.

Questions of Hungarian destiny.

Although his interest was primarily focused on foreign policy issues, he did not neglect the internal Hungarian destiny. He never ceased to emphasise the need for moral renewal in our national life, but he also made his voice heard on almost all topical public issues.

1. He devoted much time to his favourite subject, the education of youth. He wants to see a more vital, more agile, mentally prepared and physically developed youth. He calls for an end to one-sided education and for attention to be paid to character education.

"We have gained the snow with the sword, we will not keep it with the penny" Decades ago, he wanted to organise the military education of youth. In this endeavour, he has not been sparing in his efforts, addressing this issue in a series of articles and speeches. However, he has not found much understanding or a sympathetic ear. "Without military feeling, military virtues and proper military organisation, a race is but a puppet, at the mercy of its neighbouring nations. Its existence is always threatened. It has no right to exist." He had made every sacrifice for the establishment of youth marksmanship. At his own expense, he has set up a shooting range, organised courses and competitions, with the participation of renowned competitors from home and abroad, and offered prizes. It is understandable that the Hungarian Shooting Magazine, which was also started with Szemere's financial support, writes about him with the greatest enthusiasm:

"Who would have thought only two years ago that in a short time we would be talking about a Hungarian target shooting course in a Hungarian magazine? And now the unbelievable has become reality, we have the youth target shooting course and we have the magazine that promotes and spreads target shooting. We have Miklós Szemére, Member of Parliament, to thank for both: he was the initiator of the movement, its flag-bearer, who knew no fear or obstacles. He was responsible for the first youth target shooting course, and it was his enthusiasm and interest that laid the foundations for this magazine. When I think back to the many concerns and despairing indifference with which Miklós Szemére's enthusiastic appeal at the National Assembly was received by broad sections of the population, my blood boils, the flame of enthusiasm flares up in my soul and I look forward to a brighter future."

In his speech on national defence education on 29 April 1902, the first advocate of the institution of the Lvente, created twenty years later, "in all kinds of elementary schools, especially in the villages, boys over the age of 10 should be taught how to hold a gun, and those over 12 years old should be taught how to shoot, and the nation should be developed to the point where shooting becomes a national sport. It is possible to educate the youth for this and to bring them there to be proficient in target shooting instead of the virtuoso skills of the mongrels.
Great nations can afford the luxury and poetics of defence, they can dream of universal disarmament, but we must first and foremost struggle for existence if we are to survive as a nation.
So let's introduce gun training and target shooting for boys over 10."

2. On the question of socialism, or more correctly social democracy and the right to vote, he was one of those who represented the modern and pure Hungarian position. He warned the Hungarian working class against the social-democratic aphorism that those who were internationalists had no right to interfere in Hungarian public affairs. He acknowledged the strength of their organisation and urged a similar organisation of the people of the Hungarian land to counteract foreign influence. But at the same time he hastened to declare that all human and civil rights should be equal for worker, employer and legislator alike. All true social reform must be carried out, and as soon as possible. Let everyone who deserves it have the right to vote. Let all honest, hard-working members of the nation enjoy equal political rights. Women should not be excluded from this. We have never had a more ardent advocate of women's suffrage than Szemeré. His starting point was the idea that by giving women the right to vote, the political Hungarian nation would double in number.

In serious words, he disapproved of the Kristófy attempt to break the Hungarian national opposition with social democracy and nationalities. If this were to succeed, it would mean breaking the hegemony of the Hungarian race. And Hungarian statesmen

his supreme ideal can only be his own blood, the prosperity of the Hungarian race. In reality, however, nothing happens for the people. The people do not even find the conditions for their prosperity, so a great many emigrate. For it is force, and not the paragraph, that sustains the people. Paragraphs, newspaper articles and speeches cannot sustain a country.

3. He considered the foreign spirituality inherent in Judaism and its expansion dangerous for Hungarians. He saw deeply into the racial essence of Judaism. He was also aware of the European significance of the Jewish question. He valued Zionism, the nationalistic Jewish aspiration of the people, more than mimicry. When the Zionists held a congress in Bratislava in 1905, he sent a telegram of greetings. His position on the Jewish question was free of all passion, but it was clear and firm: let us be vigilant and defend ourselves by all means against the further expansion of Judaism, because, as he said, they have it better than anyone else. They are already the masters of public life in many directions. So that it takes moral courage to speak out on the issue. It is not a question of hatred, only of legitimate self-defence; 'self-defence is guaranteed to some by law, and to nations by the law of self-preservation, it is directly commanded'.

To judge the impact of Jewish activity, it is enough to note that the greatest poverty in the country is found where the greatest number of Jews live. Here we can observe how one race is destroying the other, Szemere was not yet part of the active anti-Semitic camp in the nineties, for the time being he only wished to defend himself, lest the alien race devour us. Only later, when the power aspirations of Jewry become more and more determined, when the racial struggle between Hungarians and Jews becomes more and more ruthless and it becomes clear that this struggle is also a struggle for supremacy and political hegemony, will he join the ranks of the active fighters in the anti-Jewish struggle.

When the Miklós Szemere Society had developed into a significant social organisation, the idea of starting a journal with a national spirit and promoting Hungarian racial ideals was raised. Szemere immediately recognized the importance of the idea. With his well-known generosity he created the financial basis for the journal A Cél (The Goal). This journal became a militant disseminator of the ideals espoused by Szemere and the camp that rallied around him. It was one of the few papers to openly and firmly oppose Jewish radical Masonic political, intellectual and economic aspirations. In the first years of its existence, it was mainly engaged in the fight against Freemasonry, but from the end of the world war onwards, the fight against Jewry became its main vocation. Until its collapse, The Goal also devoted much of its time to the nationalist aspirations of the Tots, the Oláh and the Serbs. He spoke out for land reform, inter-denominational understanding, a racial renewal of national defence, and the liberation of our intellectual life from Jewish influence.

Szemére himself has written a number of valuable and substantive articles in The Goal. In July 1912, in his article "My Brothers!", he succinctly summarizes his views on the Hungarian situation. The present moment in the life of our nation is not glorious and does not bear laurel leaves. In the chaos, the Hungarians claw and gnaw at each other as much as they can. Eastern dignity, where have you gone? Our friends are few. Only the Emperor William. But we will not stop at the humanity of good neighbours. With self-consciousness and soberness we can trust only in our own arm. Law to nations is given by force, not by paragraph, and the dead letter kills.
Our ancestors gained the bone with the sword and it is the only way to maintain it. To lose sight of this is not only a mortal sin and vice, but what is more, suicidal recklessness and fatal folly.

We need to raise brave men and virtuous countrywomen, then if only there were a million Hungarians, that would stop".

The outbreak of the world war did not come as a surprise to Szemere. It had been foreshadowed for years, even decades. He watched with anxious affection the fate of the bleeding-blood Hungarians fighting on the battlefield. Already at the beginning of the war, he came to the public with a beautiful and noble idea: "Land for the brave". In this proposal of Szemere, we must see the first attempt to create the Order of the Valiant.
But Szemere wanted to set an example as well as an idea. Therefore, in a statement published in September 1915, he announced, among other things, the following. The soldiers who shed their blood for their country must be given political rights. Soldiers who distinguished themselves in battle should be rewarded with special land donations. In this connection, there should be plantations, as Bocskay did. To this end, Szemére immediately offered his 963-acre estate in Szulyóváralja for distribution to the soldiers who had taken part in the war, on condition that they settled there and, if they were not yet married, started a family.

At the end of 1917, when news of a separate peace agreement was circulating everywhere, Szemere spoke out against cowardice and credulity: '... peace articles and peace speeches give our opponents the impression, like an obituary, that we are already at the grave and have been laid out, we only need to be buried. I find acceptable only a peace which at least partly compensates for the enormous, incalculable losses, which secures our future and which gives an honourable future to those brave men who fought the war with honour, who survived and survived, and not to the whole country, which, even in peace, will suffer eternal misery and beggary'.

In the spring of 1918, Szemere had already sensed that the end was near. He was desperate to see that while national society, exhausted by the fatigues of war, was wasting all its energy on passionate debates about suffrage, Bolshevism had crept into the country and was carrying out its destructive and poisonous work with infernal rapidity. Szemere wanted to create a united front of defence by uniting national forces. He summoned the leading political and social figures to joint meetings and presented the situation to them. We must unite all our forces, and above all we must not give in to the loud power desires of the instigators. "Good politics is not a game of dice, and it is about the future of the Hungarian nation, about Hungary.
I speak at the last hour, before the bell." But Destiny had other plans for us. The path of the Bolshevik plague could not be stopped. The underprivileged Hungarians did not know what terrible poison the Red Jewish political adventurers were trying to cure them with. By the time they understood, it was too late!
His bastard was shaken to the core by the collapse.

The excitement of the war and the horrors of the two Jewish revolutions took a heavy toll on his spirit, and his health was completely undermined. He became seriously ill. By the will of Providence, he was able to live to see the end of the Red Jewish reign of terror and the victory of the counter-revolution. He could close his eyes with the knowledge that, after agonizing crises, terrible lessons and terrible sacrifices, the Hungarian nation would start a new life on the ruins.
IRODALOM:
All works of Miklós Szemere. (Speeches, articles, pamphlets.)

his articles in the 1910-1918 volumes of A Cél and in Hungarian Youth. Edited by Lajos Kovács.
My young
brothers.
Ideal.
Fair Play.
Modern Argonauts.

Sándor Kiss

A champion of the idea of race.

At the beginning of the nineties, Hungarian public life was already a desolate picture of total decay and disintegration. The political conflicts, the electoral, public and customs policy battles, became more and more passionate. Corruption symptoms, accusations and allegations are becoming more frequent. The nationalities, taking advantage of the internal political unrest and party struggles, the slow decline of the Hungarian resistance and defensive power, are attacking the against the unity of the Hungarian state, against the idea of the Hungarian Empire and against the political supremacy of the Hungarians. The Jewish-led Marxist proletarian organisation was also increasingly successful among the rapidly growing industrial workforce. Social-democratic organisations are taking to the streets in the tens of thousands of people for suffrage demonstrations. The Jews were able to take undisturbed possession of the country's economic resources, the institutions and organisations that governed economic life. A typical capitalist economic organisation had already been largely established, whose sole and exclusive aim was the ruthless and unlimited pursuit of profit. By means of the Jewish capitalist organisation of capital, credit, money, industry and mercantilism, vast amounts of wealth and income have been accumulated in a short time in the hands of Jewry. With money, wealth, capital, Jewry became a shareholder in increasing wealth, social, political and cultural influence. In contrast to the rapidly growing wealth of the Jews, there was the politically fragmented and economically shaken Hungarian population. Jewish profit capitalism exploited the urban proletariat with wages that barely provided for vegetative subsistence, while the swelling masses of the agricultural proletariat were oppressed by the landed gentry. These masses saw emigration as the only way and opportunity for social fulfilment. However, the ultimate problem was not the material degradation of the Hungarian people, but the decline of their spiritual, mental, moral and racial strength. Judaism knew very well, from its millennia of experience, that it could only enjoy the lasting benefit of the enormous wealth it had accumulated in its hands if it ensured that the plundered and exploited Hungarians did not wake up to a clear awareness of their situation. Care had to be taken to influence public opinion in such a way as to divert attention from the Jews and from their growing wealth. The Budapest press, in Jewish hands or under Jewish control, had the most important role to play in this respect. This press performed with admirable skill the not inconsiderable task of constantly capturing public attention with new political, social and public surprises and passionate debates.

Jews took the most extreme positions in the Hungarian press on capitalism, socialism, liberalism, conservatism, forty-eight and sixty-seven, and all other issues. But Jewry not only sought to

to divert attention from himself, but he also worked with great perseverance and no small success to saturate the minds and spirits of the widest possible sections of the Jewish people with Jewish spirituality. In this work, too, the press played a decisive role, but the Jewish Hungarian literature and theatre of Budapest also played their part. The result of a few decades of "Jewish cultural work" was that the mentality, moral outlook and outlook on life of a significant part of our middle class gradually became saturated with Jewish elements. We have become unobtrusively enthusiastic about Jewish ideas and ideals, educated on Jewish public and literary writers. This spiritual gentrification of the ruling classes was accompanied by their blood gentrification. The proliferation of mixed marriages created not only material and spiritual but also blood ties. Many links and many interests were thus forged, especially between the aristocracy, which still largely held the political leadership, and the new Jewish plutocracy. On the part of the Jews, this alliance of interests served a particular racialist purpose and was therefore right and expedient in every respect. Not so, however, on the part of the Hungarian ruling classes. They undertook the alliance with Jewry primarily, or even exclusively, out of individual and class interests, ignoring higher, more universal national interests. On the part of the aristocracy, this solidarity with Jewry can be said to have been conscious. Its behaviour, as mentioned above, was influenced by material, power and class interests. He wanted to save and maintain his declining class position by the material power of the Jews. If the aristocracy benefited from this alliance of interests, the Jews benefited even more from it, because in this way they were able to secure for themselves the highest political and social protection. The cooperation between the middle classes and the Jews was, however, completely one-sided. Not to mention the fact that it was primarily this class that felt the consequences of the occupation of the Jewish space. At the same time as the leading classes were developing their Jewish connections, they were becoming more and more distanced in spirit from the majority of Hungarians.

There was only one way out of this crisis. The only way was for the Hungarian people to clearly recognise their situation, the crisis of decay and decline, to break with the dull and indifferent attitude they had hitherto shown towards their enemies, to do everything in their power to regain their lost positions and to secure for themselves the leading role they deserved. This task, however, could only have been accomplished by the leading strata, deeply infected by Jewry, if they had themselves been saturated with the idea of the race, and if this idea had guided their political and social conduct. At this time, the idea of race was already playing an important role in the intellectual life of the cultural peoples. Its influence was increasingly felt in scientific research, political endeavours and social movements. These new European intellectual currents are not reaching us. The Jews are keeping them at a distance, knowing that the spread of this new idea would necessarily mean the collapse of their own privileged position.

Among the few who tried to break the Jewish intellectual blockade by instinctive insight, we find Sándor Kiss. His name became widely known before and after the Jewish Revolution of 1918. His articles and studies, which sought to draw the attention of Hungarian society to the essence and consequences of the Jewish threat, were published at this time, and his writings had a profound impact through their unrelenting honesty, their courageous and open stance, their clear and convincing logic. There was not a trace of cheap demagogy in these articles, yet every line and every statement they made made made people clench their fists.

In fact, it was these writings of Sándor Kiss that made us aware of the true essence of the Jewish question before the collapse, that here we are dealing with the struggle of two racially opposed groups, the Jews and the Hungarians, in a struggle for existence, for primacy, and not merely with religious, sectarian, economic, social, etc.

on anti-Semitism. It was from these articles that the public in our country first became aware of how destructive Jewry was to the nation.

Sándor Kiss's position on the Jewish question was an integral complement to the racial worldview he had developed in his mind from an early age. Sándor Kiss initially arrived at the development of the Hungarian racial worldview on his own, and only later did he have the opportunity to delve into the international literature on race and anti-Semitism. His realistic outlook on life, his insight, his ability to recognize the essence of social phenomena, his deep love of race, his ability to form his own opinion and to make his own judgements made him destined to play an important role in the creation of the Hungarian ideology of racial protection. There is no doubt that the idea of racialism and racial protection first entered Hungarian public thought through the writings of Sándor Kiss.

Even in his first studies published before the World War, Sándor Kiss praises the importance of the racial idea (A fajiság és a educáció. A magyarság külmissionése a races a léthkampf.) In these studies, Sándor Kiss already firmly believes in the racial idea. The concepts he uses are precisely and clearly defined, and his entire reasoning is logical and consistent. He refers to the new findings of modern natural sciences, above all to the fact that the struggle for existence of species in the world of living beings is constant. In this struggle for existence, it is primarily those who have a stronger sense of speciesism who have the chance to prevail. History teaches us that the Turanian races had at most only a racial consciousness, and that this in itself was a passive endowment. In the Indo-European race, but especially in the Jewish race, we can observe a sense of racial self-awareness, which is an active trait. We may also draw from history the lesson that the survival and prosperity of races depend not so much on militancy, still less on culture, as on racial self-awareness. (See the fate of the Huns, the Avars, the Bulgars, the Tartars.) The question arises, what fate awaits the Hungarians of Turan? The post-reunification era does not augur well. Our Turanian racial heritage has always led us to be wary of foreigners. Most foreigners, on the other hand, considered our behaviour as ineptitude and weakness. The most typical example of this is the failure of Deák's policy. Deák achieved the sixty-week reconciliation, gave free rein to the Croats, granted far-reaching rights to nationalities and finally emancipated the Jews. The consequence of this typical Turanian Tanya racial policy was the expansion of nationalities and the domination of Jewry. Instead of the racial assimilation of nationalities, we have been content with superficial apparent assimilation. These issues are a matter of existence or non-existence for Hungarians
- writes Sándor Kiss long before the world war. Turanian racial intolerance can no longer stand up to the pressure of nationalities and Jewry saturated with racial self-esteem.

How the Hungarians can acquire this missing racial self-esteem is a question that Sándor Kiss also answers in another study (Raciality and education.) Only through purposeful educational work can we saturate the Hungarian people, and above all the Hungarian youth, with the racial self-esteem that is indispensable in the racial struggle. (This word was first used by Sándor Kiss.) And education must adapt itself to racialism, because only in this case can it truly serve the races in their struggle for existence and development. A quarter of a century ago, Sándor Kiss stated that "the educators of a race or nation must direct the public education and teaching of the generation of their time with due regard to the characteristics of their race."
Racial education, properly applied, is equally attentive to racial virtues and faults and seeks to make objectively assessed raciality as suitable as possible for inter-racial struggle. National education cannot be a substitute for racial education, as the nation itself

is a much broader concept than race. Sándor Kiss summarised the tasks of racial education in three groups. The bloody events of the 1914-18 World War, the death struggle between peoples, strengthened Sándor Kiss' awareness of the crucial importance of the idea of race. In this bloody struggle of worlds, Sándor Kiss saw not only a struggle for political and material goals and interests, but also a life-and-death struggle of races.

But he also saw that the Hungarians, although they were making terrible blood sacrifices in this struggle, were not guided by racial ideals or racial self-esteem, and that for this very reason, while they were bleeding to death on the battlefields outside, they indifferently tolerated the nationalities here working more openly and defiantly to dismember the country, and the Jews, in their effective support of this effort, working to gain political and state supremacy.

At the beginning of 1916, Sándor Kiss writes his first article in The Goal, entitled Our Tasks. In it, he unveils the situation. Above all, he points out that in the great world struggle, racial consciousness enhances the ultimate performance of peoples, only we cannot draw on this great source of spiritual energy. We can speak of the racial ideal, of racial consciousness everywhere, but not here, because we are not allowed to receive these ideals by the will of an alien, dominant stratum. It is only the lack of racial consciousness that explains why we lost so much in political leadership even before the World War. The decline of power, of morality, of the mind, was now crowned by the world war. The best of our brothers and sisters are dying on the battlefields, while the more flawed and stunted remain. At the end of the war, our warriors will return home depleted in numbers, physically and mentally battered. After the war, the struggle between the races will continue, albeit by different means, with unchanged vigour, but we will be able to take part in it with diminished strength and fewer chances than those races which have been more or less spared by the world war. The supreme condition of our racial survival and survival is that we should strive with all our strength to ennoble, strengthen and extend our physical and spiritual raciality. All living organisms, including species, strive to survive, to improve and to expand, and the species which forgoes this or is no longer able to do so is on the road to decline, regression and destruction. Consciously, but even more instinctively, this is what we Hungarians must strive for. But is there such an aspiration here? Unfortunately, instinctively, hardly consciously, we do not strive for this at all. There is no other way to help this situation, except to review our entire dominant public ideology, all the fashionable leitmotifs, to see to what extent they serve the cause of our racial strengthening. First and foremost, we must disregard the slogans of freedom, equality and brotherhood, because these attractive phrases are being used against us by more agile, more self-conscious races. The new ideal, in the name of which our public life must be transformed, is that of racism. We cannot, however, include in this community those who are like us only in language and appearance, but who otherwise live in a different racial sphere of thought. Racial fraternity as an aspiration, as an instinct, as a biological and spiritual reality, is an ancient, even eternal, gift. It is what binds like-blooded people in close unity, it is what spurs close racial cohesion, it is what suggests ideas, movements, aspirations, institutions and laws. Sándor Kiss goes a considerable step further in the construction of the racial system of thought in another very interesting essay, entitled The Racial Idea, which appeared in the first issue of the 1917 volume of The Goal.

Here you have already clearly clarified almost all the major fundamental questions of your own racial conception. The racial ideology of Sándor Kiss is not identical with the racial position of natural anthropology in the strict sense. In the view of Alexander Kiss, moral, linguistic and psychological traits are more important than physical stamps in racial differentiation. Taking these into account, we can speak of German, English, French, Hungarian, etc.

Kiss's concept of race is thus situated between that of the nation and that of the human race. He combines the two and uses them to create his own concept of race. Race, in Kiss's interpretation, is more, deeper, more complex, more powerful and more definite than the concept of nation, but on the other hand it is not as rigid as the strictly natural scientific concept of race, nor does it break down the bodies of people into their constituent elements, but rather holds them in close unity. There is no doubt, however, that Kiss's definition of race is not based on an exact foundation, and that it is not a matter of a raciality that can be grasped, measured and analysed by natural scientific methods. However, Sándor Kiss's racial position is not identical with the well-known Szekfű theory, which wants to deny the Hungarians all racial characteristics and features, declares the racial essence of the Hungarians to have disappeared long ago, and only wants to hear about racial mosaics, ethnic races, or at most about historical race. In Kiss's eyes, the racial essence of Hungarians is a living reality, which he wants to revive and enhance. In essence, Sándor Kiss's concept of race is an intellectual, social and political concept of race. Even if from the point of view of race science and race research this theory may not be valid in every respect, from the point of view of national policy it may be much more effective, much more suitable for winning and influencing the masses than the abstract anthropological concept of race, which can only be understood on the basis of the necessary qualifications.

In the above-mentioned study, Sándor Kiss points out that while the national idea is a product of the 19th century and the French Revolution, and is rather a concept of public law (i.e. the totality of citizens under the authority of a state), the idea of race is more a product of modern natural science, of Darwinian philosophy, and is perhaps not as clear and precise today, but more substantial and more multifaceted than the concept of nation. In any case, we need to know the difference between the nation and the concept of race, because only then can we distinguish between the nation and the politics of race. As a nation, Hungarians are self-respecting, but as a race they are tuneful and tolerant of everything. The presence of racial feeling is an expression of racial self-awareness. It consists of two elements, racial love and racial antipathy. So it is a positive acting and a negative defensive factor. In the last half-century, all cultivated races have become self-aware, have recognised their own interests, have separated themselves from other races. Racial rivalry has begun everywhere, including here, between nationalities and Jewry. At the same time, the Jews, through their exclusive cultural domination, ensured that the racial idea did not reach us in any form. It brutally suppressed all such intentions, while at the same time opening a wide door to foreign influences that destroyed, disrupted and undermined our racialism.

Sándor Kiss's realisation of the importance of the racial idea was primarily led by his direct experience of the anti-state and anti-national activities of the Jews and nationalities. In particular, the racist behaviour of the Jews attracted his attention. The liberal perceptions of his time did not influence him at all in the formation of his opinion of the Jews. As a student at the Reformed Gymnasium in Nagykőrös, he received valuable guidance on Judaism from his literature teacher, Gáspár Mészöly, at an early age. Mészöly did not hide from his students his conviction that he considered the Jews as a whole to be an alien and harmful people within Hungary.

Sándor Kiss was born on 10 April 1884 in Nagykőrös. His father was Sándor Kiss, his mother Erzsébet Füle Kovács. His ancestors are small landowners and farmers on both sides going back centuries. He went to primary school in Nagykőrös, where he graduated from the Arany János Gymnasium. At the University of Budapest, he continued his studies at the Faculty of Humanities, amidst many problems and hardships. His parents could not help him to continue his studies. Unable to make a living in the capital, he became a tutor in the countryside. First in Bratislava County, then in Bereg near Szolyva.

Here

he encountered the characteristic forms of Jewish animism which he later studied so closely and thoroughly. He also spent a long time as a home teacher in Szabolcs County. Here, in turn, he had the opportunity to become more closely acquainted with the inner depravity, racial inertia and ignorance of Hungarian society, which was infested with Jewry. He saw the disastrous failures of the helpless and clumsy administration in the ethnic regions, which was completely unaware of its tasks. He has seen the helplessness, the limited class outlook and the sickly lordliness of the rural gentry, of this declining and dying class. He often felt closer to himself the Jews of Leszcz, crowded into the noble mansions, than to his own struggling, toiling, poor and penniless brutes. These experiences left deep traces in the soul of Sándor Kiss, became decisive insights that would last a lifetime, and determined his later political and social outlook.

In 1908 he obtained a secondary school teaching diploma. The following year he became a teacher at the teacher training college in Sarva. Later he became the director of this institute. In this capacity he still works here today.
Already in his first writings, which he wrote as a teacher trainee in the Nagykőrösi Newspaper in 1906, he paints a frank picture of the parasitic and disruptive role of the Jews. Even then, he expressed his conviction that national collapse must come sooner or later, but inevitably, if we cannot put a stop to the harmful social and economic activities of the Jews.

As opposed to the Jewish revolution.

In the second and third years of the world war, the signs of social disintegration and national catastrophe were already multiplying rapidly. The unbridled rampage of the Jews had already opened the eyes of many, but so far no one dared to oppose the Jewish aspirations for power. With deep concern, Sándor Kiss saw the storm clouds gathering over a country exhausted by the war effort and a weary society. Heedless of the dangers that his action might bring upon himself and his family, he published an article entitled On the Defence of Our Race in Aim, in which he unveiled the increasingly unfavourable prospects of inter-racial strife between Hungarians and Jews:
Species extinction can be caused by two things: decomposition due to internal organic decay, or destruction due to national disasters. There is no escape from the latter, the former can be arrested, avoided, if the sense of racial survival is awakened in the hour of danger. The Turanian peoples, as splendid as they are in open warfare, are just as much the victims of their racial inhumanity in peaceful struggles for existence. Their enslaved subjects have mostly survived and been assimilated. The consequence of this fatal Turanian miscegenation is the rise and supremacy of Jewry and nationalities in our country.
The ways and means of defending against the two threats are not the same. It is particularly difficult to stand up to Jewry because we lack the most basic skills and abilities to recognise alien racial essence, interest and aspiration. If there were those among us who saw in Jewry the bearer of an alien racial imperialism, they were deprived of freedom of speech and expression by the merciless censorship of the Jewish press and literature. That is why the first and most urgent thing to do is to combat this Jewish intellectual terror. Once this has been accomplished, the Jewish question must no longer be allowed to sleep until the power of Jewry has been completely broken. All artificially induced feelings of shame must be put aside. By scientific means and methods, every aspect of the racial struggle between the Hungarian people and Jewry must be uncovered.

detail.

What is the secret of the victory of the Jews? asks Sándor Kiss. Simply that there is no race on earth more self-conscious than the Jews. To recognize the means of racial and individual assertion, Judaism possesses a splendid sense. Thus, above all, Judaism has realized that its prosperity, nourished by the misery and sweat of millions, can be maintained only so long as it holds the spiritual control of a society that has been exploited. To obtain and maintain it, it uses above all the psychological law that individuals and the masses are incredibly easily influenced. Of course, only with the right interesting and effective moods.

In the decades after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the Jews kept throwing new and new inciting ideas into Hungarian public opinion. In this way, they managed to divert attention from themselves and prevent Hungarian public opinion from waking up. In the application of these inciting ideas, Jewry showed an unmatched skill. In fact, it whipped up new and new storms of anger in Hungarian public life, and thus succeeded in preventing the masses from coming to the realization of their miserable situation. One inflammatory idea followed another, and there was not a moment's pause, calm or rest (independent customs territory, independent national bank, military concessions, public scandals of ministers, social-democratic demonstrations, electoral bloc, etc.). Things had reached the point where our society could no longer exist without incitement. Obviously, under these circumstances, the only way to overcome this psychological influence of Jewry is to provide for even more effective incitement (such as restrictions on Jewish immigration, protection of the peasantry, usury, fraud, etc.). One of these weapons, which must be wrenched from the hands of "Jewry", is socialism. Years later, fascism and national socialism also launched their struggle for political power in the spirit of this recognition. The idea of socialism was embraced by the Jews not out of idealism but out of racial interest. It also sought to use the results of modern natural science for its own ends, although in their original form they would have served the development of racial consciousness, but in the mediation of Jewry they have the opposite effect.

Starting from the principle that the most important prerequisite for the success of the racial struggle against Jewry is a clear knowledge of the racial abilities and qualities of the two opposing sides, Sándor Kiss makes this question the subject of a thorough examination in another study (Jewish Racism Hungarian Racism). He reiterates his conviction that the social, spiritual raciality of peoples is of much greater importance than anthropological raciality in the context of the racial struggle. In examining this social raciality of Jewry, he draws attention to its three main characteristics: universality, resistance and determination. These are precisely the opposite features of Hungarian racialism. According to Sándor Kiss, the Jews also have a great advantage because of their greater intellectual capacity. The greater intellect can be explained by the specific struggle for existence of the Jews over centuries. During this period, the landed gentry did not have to make any intellectual effort to survive and prosper, whereas the great masses of the serfs, because of their special class position and fate, were excluded from the possibility of developing their intellectual abilities. And the number of urban bourgeoisie, who were in a class situation roughly comparable to that of the Jews, was relatively insignificant, and in no way sufficient to hold back the advance of the Jews.
The correct, purposeful and purposeful use of the means of individual and mass influence has been a powerful aid to the achievement of its aims.

The Jew's every word, his every facial expression, his every action is full of a constant tension, which is aimed at influencing outsiders, individuals or crowds. This peculiar attitude demands unceasing mental alertness, an unremitting effort of will, and no other race is so capable of this as the Jew. He is constantly watching himself, the effect of his words and movements, the state of mind of the individual or group opposite him, so as never to let the leadership, the initiative, slip from his hands. Success in business always depends on the quality of the spiritual relationship between the two parties to the transaction: those who influence win, those who are influenced lose. The Jew, therefore, seeks to influence, to control, to influence in all circumstances. This influencing instinct is supported by the vitality and initiative of the Jewish spirit. Whatever the Jew does, the influencing instinct always sets the tone of his spiritual activity: in business, in politics, in literature, in art."

It is also essential that the form of Jewish influence is never a command or a decree, but a persuasion, a persuasion, a guidance, an agreement, a persuasion, an incitement, an incitement, an incitement. This is the method used by Jews in politics, fiction, stage, business, science, but above all in journalism. One of the most striking features of Jewish racism is also the unbridled Jewish racial self-esteem: 'No people has so much respect for its past, so much esteem for its race, so much exclusive jealousy in working for its future as the Jew. Racial self-esteem helps the Jew not to renounce his racial peculiarities, to inculcate Jewish customs, principles of life and morals in his descendants. So, racial self-esteem serves racial conservatism, racial steadfastness, but it also follows from the fact that the Jew is so proud of his race because of its long and varied past". In contrast to this Jewishness, there is the Hungarian without racial self-awareness, or even racial self-consciousness, which does not understand what it means to be a race, and cannot even comprehend its racial vocation and its racial future. The Hungarian is not as proud of his virtues as the Jew is of his sins."
Another well-known characteristic of Jewish racialism is lust Sándor Kiss writes about it, among other things, as follows:Jewish lust is also the product of a millennial destiny. The Jew has always lived among men, far from nature, in comfort, untiring of physical labour. The nervous system of the manly intellectual life was trained to excitement, the soft, untidy life of his women was always a ready hotbed of lustful stimuli. The fear of procreation did not temper the sex life of the Jews, for they had no fear of the division of wealth among their offspring, as the wealth of Jewish offspring was in their minds, in their education, and in their moral principles. Lust is such an absolute attribute of Jewish raciality that it defiles everything it touches. Literature, conversational language, art, even science (pedagogy, psychology, jurisprudence, aesthetics). The limits of lust, modesty, moderation, are mocked and persecuted by the Jew at every turn. For the selfishness of the body, the lustfulness of the body, is in harmony with the general selfishness of Jewish racialism".

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Just a few months before the outbreak of the Jewish Revolution in October, Sándor Kiss wrote his essay The Jewishization of Our Literature. In it, he openly points to the racist domination of our economic and intellectual life by the Jews. What was generally called Hungarian literature in our country before the World War was, by and large, Jewish literature. The prevailing view was that the nationality of literature was determined solely by its language. In any case, the most disappointing phenomenon of the gentrification of our literature was that there was a considerable layer of Hungarian writers of Hungarian blood who were assimilated to the Jewish branch in spirit, morals, perception and thought, and almost merged into Judaism. These Hungarian writers, who have separated from their kind, in return for the opportunity to assert themselves through the Jews, mostly praise and even glorify the Jews in their writings in a distasteful manner. Of course, Jewish Hungarian literature has nothing

to do with being Hungarian. Its strangeness, its Hungarian-ness is equally evident, in language, style, subject matter, moral outlook, etc.

"The most popular Jewish theme is love. And not the love that we used to think of as beautiful, poetic, attractive, the love that is decent, emotional, law-abiding, gentle, but the love that is insolent, gluttonous, demanding, lawless and wanting to harm. All the writers of the globe put together have not written as much adultery, as poetic beauty, as our Jewish modern literature has been working on for twenty years in drama, novels, especially short stories. In this subject matter, the Jewish instinct for lust, law-breaking, deceit and incitement is at once asserted. There is no more ideal subject for Jewish literature. Especially during the war years, the business of incitement to adultery, infidelity and love-making took off, so that our fiction became a veritable pimp-market, and the exporters of Hungarah and the artists of pimp-market literature were, once again, of the same race. The cult of infidelity, the incitement to love as a literary theme. It also worked very well as a business during the war. The husband and father were out there in the trenches, in the mud, in the cold, in a thousand agonies, while at home, fiction educated the family in infidelity, dirt and sweetness. How many hundreds, how many thousands, how many tens of thousands of Hungarian family hearths have gone up in flames at the instigation of these literary beasts. How dishonest was this business and how profitable?"

The writings of Sándor Kiss had a profound impact on a feverish, feverish public opinion in their day. The part of society that had not yet lost its ability to judge and orient itself, breathed a sigh of relief, became self-aware, filled with optimism, and hurriedly sought ways and means of joining forces, organising and stopping the Jewish revolution that was threatening to come. The radical revolutionary camp also recognised the importance of Kiss's writings. They felt that once the masses really realized that they were indeed victims of Jewish mass sedition and mass suggestion, and that revolutionary hysteria was only a means of exposing the immense wealth, the rabidity and the racial ambition of the Jews, then retaliation would be inevitable. There was no other way but to prevent and counteract the mass awakening which the Kiss Sándors had begun. From the Jewish Marxist side, therefore, the revolution of souls continued at an even faster pace. Jewish newspapers here and at the front openly incited to treason. In the trade unions they organised the mob and deserters to strike and rebel. The organisation of the anti-revolutionary forces was too late. Those who, in power, could have held back the confusion and disintegration, gave the last encouragement to the destructive forces by their hesitant attitude.

Miklós Szemere was one of the main driving forces behind the organisation of the national forces. He recognised the importance of Sándor Kiss's enlightening work. He printed many thousands of copies of his articles and sent them to all the notable personalities of Hungarian public life, flooding the Hungarian intelligentsia with them. From the early spring of 1918, Szemere tried to bring together the leaders of the national movements at silent dinners in the National Casino. Sándor Kiss was often present at these dinners. Szemere maintained contact with Kiss throughout his later years, and encouraged him to continue his work. He considered him the apostle of the self-defence struggle against the Jews. However, the outbreak of the Jewish revolution could no longer be prevented. Persecution, terror and intimidation were the order of the day for the national movements and their well-known fighters. Sándor Kiss spent these months in constant terror in Szarvas. The Jews of the area and the Communist mob knew his political views well, and had to fear their revenge and reprisals.

The essence of Jewish vitality.

After the counter-revolution, Sándor Kiss, like many others, believed that after ten months of terrible and unforgettable lessons, the Hungarian people would finally free themselves from all forms of Jewish domination. It soon became clear, however, that these hopes were unlikely to come true. In the feverish turmoil of the counter-revolutionary events, elements emerged who lacked the moral grounding, the standing, the preparedness, the political instinct and foresight to tackle the great tasks ahead. There was a failure to hold the Jews to account and a failure to bring about genuine, race-protecting social reforms. It was back to business as usual. Two or three years after the Jewish Revolutions of 1918-19, liberal political and social forces allied with the Jews once again took control of the country. Not only did the Jews enjoy unhindered possession of all that they had carved up over the decades, especially during the world war, but new and unprecedented opportunities opened up. The existing wealth imbalances in the social situation of Jews and Hungarians were even more marked. In the mutilated country, thousands of refugees were living in wagon dwellings and slums, huge numbers of civil servants were on the payroll, Hungarian youth were completely excluded from the free careers of intellectuals, and large numbers of workers and peasants emigrated, with only the Jews benefiting from the circumstances.

In this situation, the Jews once again resorted to the tried and tested tactic. With more and more inflammatory ideas, it distracted the masses, who had fallen into poverty and deprivation. The result was the same: the opposing factions of Hungarian society engaged in passionate, principled debates, while Jewry gained new positions.

Those, like Sándor Kiss, who clearly recognized the ideological and practical bankruptcy of the counter-revolution and despaired of the growing dominance of Jewry, tried to inform public opinion about the situation. Few have done so much in this field as Sándor Kiss. For years, in a whole series of articles and studies, he revealed with the greatest conscientiousness and detail the racial character and nature of the Jews, the social essence of the Jewish question. He has undoubtedly done pioneering work in this field. Putting aside the petty day-to-day political aspects, he examines the question from a higher social science point of view, never forgetting the search for ways of healing.

In his article, The Jewish Disease, he calls the Jewish question a social disease of contagion: 'It is brought about by a characteristic parasite, the Jew, when it multiplies and becomes dominant in society. The Jewish species does not work, does not produce, but invades the working society of other peoples, like lice on the animal body, like the aranka on the butterfly-flowered forage species, or like germs on the internal organs of the animal organism, etc., and thus lives, multiplies, and flourishes at the expense of the organs and tissues of the infected society. The proliferation and predominance of the Jewish race produces a social infectious disease, called Judaeal disease, which produces the same morbid symptoms in all societies and leads to the destruction of society under given conditions."

The world war proved that there is no immunity to Judaeo-Semitism and that other diseases of society greatly facilitate the spread of this pathological infection. It has also been shown that different races show different susceptibilities to Jujospora. The Turanian races, and therefore also the Hungarian race, are highly susceptible.

Nowhere, however, can Jewry develop its parasitic way of life without the support of its host people. An apt sociography of these allies and servants of the Jews is given in the study entitled "The Jew-hater". Who should be considered a Jew Jew, what is his role, what is his vocation? "This professional fighter of Jewish parasitism is never a Jew, but a son of the infected society, a son of the breed ... A it is the duty of the Jew Jew to deny the sins of the Jewry, to extol its virtues, so that they, the Jews, should not have to do all this for themselves, because it would be an eyesore to the people." The role of the Jewish Jew-baiter was played by, among others, Károly Eötvös, Zoltán Lengyel, László Fényes, Mihály Károlyi, János Hock, Dezső Baltazár, etc. The relationship between Jews and Jew-baiters is unique of its kind. The Jewish Jew's opinion and position in the Jewish question is not the result of conviction, but of spiritual disposition, he is not master of his own will and thought, he reads and waits for the Jew's orders. In many cases, it is no longer a normal, physical, or rather a psychic phenomenon, but a peculiar state of mind. There are people, writes Alexander Kiss, who are predisposed from birth to be Jewish Jews. Their spirituality, their nervous constitution, is such that they cannot resist the Jewish suggestion.

"An important link between Jewish parasitism and the Jewish Jew is material interest. The average man is very willing to consider as good, as right, a state of affairs from which he profits. The Jew-hawk sees a profit in Jewish parasitism, so it is their natural conviction that this state of affairs is good and right, and that to fight against it is sinful and foolish. Jewish parasitism is willingly fought for by all those who feel a personal benefit from it. A good example is the behaviour of the magnates. Without exception, magnates are shareholders, supervisory board members and board members of large Jewish industrial, commercial and credit companies. Without work, and for the sake of their name alone, they draw rich incomes in the form of dividends and commissions. It is clear that for them this state of affairs is nice, good and just. So the vast majority of them are also Jew-haters."

Judaizing, as a typical and widespread social disease, has, of course, its symptoms just like any other disease. Sándor Kiss also reveals these in his very interesting study entitled The Therapy of Judaic Disease. In the body infected by Jewish parasitism, a state of excitement is first observed, and gradually the host is completely penetrated and permeated by the parasites. From its destruction the parasite lives until it is completely disintegrated, at which point it leaves. The Jewish parasite culture can also involve certain layers of the host organism in its decomposing work.

There are generally three possible ways of defence: l. prophylaxis (protection against further infection), 2. stimulating society to defend itself, 3. increasing the resistance of society to parasite attack or reducing the parasite's chances of survival. The simplest way of defence: do not accept Jews. According to Sándor Kiss, it has also been proven that the churches could not be more active in the fight against the Jewish disease. Racial self-defence, racial warfare, which has only natural laws and these are above all religious restrictions. This is also the explanation of the sterility of the Christian course.

What institutions and arrangements can protect society against Jewish parasitism? Undoubtedly, where there are great social divisions and social inequalities, Jewish contagion is quick and easy to spread. Indeed, the secret of the success of Jewry lies in the fact that it disintegrates society by plundering and by agitating the plundered at the same time.

Far-reaching social reforms are the surest antidote to the Jewish contagion. But a policy of dithering, half-reforms with smear rhetoric cannot achieve results. We need a militant and active anti-Semitism if we are to defeat the mass Jewish subjugation.

A concise and clear summary of his views on the Jewish question can be found in Sándor Kiss's study entitled The Jewish Question in a Natural Scientific Conception. Of all the many kinds of social parasitism, that practised by the Jews is certainly the most pernicious. Sándor Kiss's theory of Jewish parasitism is original and pioneering in the international anti-Semitic literature, and is also the subject of the Jewish

Although we encounter the idea of anti-Semitism already in the anti-Semitic literature of the 19th century, Sándor Kiss was the first to approach this question using sociological methods. Only years later did Arno Schickedanz deal with it in depth in his work Sozialparazitizmus in Völkerleben.
The vast majority of Jews do not produce goods, Kiss writes, but live off what others produce by sweat and toil. Judaism is a vast parasitic organism that infests the whole world. Its members are bound together by racial, blood, moral, spiritual, religious and economic ties. This Jewish parasitic world organization is actively and consciously working against the host peoples everywhere. The physical, especially nervous, defectiveness and stuntedness of the Jews are connected with this parasitic way of life. On the other hand, the parasitic way of life has also developed, strengthened and perfected certain abilities. Pretence, manipulation, deception and mass deception are indispensable prerequisites for a smooth and successful parasitism. In-depth research is also needed to clarify the psychological factors that help Jews to live out their harmful and pathological way of life. That there is something mysterious, mysterious and at the same time disturbing about Jewish spirituality is also clear from the fact that for two thousand years Lucifer has always been portrayed as a Jew. Since time immemorial, humanity has felt that there is a mysterious, satanic force at work in Judaism.

A tired, weary social organism is much more susceptible to Jujospora infection than a healthy one. The full development of Jujospora infection is normally preceded by a process of adaptation and assimilation. Only the assimilated Jew can develop social parasitism to its full potential. Only he has the necessary experience, he knows the conditions, the circumstances. The disease caused by Jewish parasitism is like a feverish illness. The fever may be constant or recurrent. The fever that reaches its climax is the revolutionary. In the general desolation and confusion, only the Jew-baiters remain unharmed, and even seem to thrive, but only temporarily, for they too cannot escape the general desolation.

Finally, Jewish parasitism also has the capacity to reorganise the constituent elements of a disintegrated society. The new social organisation thus created, however, is now formed entirely according to the will and intentions of Jewry, which not only lives on it, but literally rules over it.

Towards a new Jewish revolution!

A new Jewish revolution threatens, writes Sándor Kiss in April 1922. Three years after the counter-revolution, the Jews had succeeded in pushing Hungarian life fully back towards liberalism, but on the other hand they were doing their utmost to stir up strife in the fragmented Hungarian society. By intensifying and spreading mass oppression and by fomenting mass disaffection, Jewry is once again working to prepare the way for a new social revolution. The fact that during the First and Second National Assemblies, the governments and the legislatures did not care about the social situation of the masses, and did not pass adequate laws to ensure social balance, helped the Jews in their mine-work. The wheelwrights of the reforms were primarily the magnates and the Jews.

All this was not without reason, as Sándor Kiss stated in 1922. In these difficult hours of general turmoil and uncertainty, Jewry is increasingly coming to the fore. The revolutionary instincts of the masses can only be counteracted by opening their eyes and making them militant anti-Semites. A because it is a psychological law that the masses always need an idea, an idea in which they believe, trust, hope, this idea is either internationalism or anti-Semitism. The anti-Semitic ideal, if it is to be adhered to by the masses, must be accompanied by positive racialism. The most urgent task is to land the agrarian proletariat. This reform would not only lead to a significant reduction in the mass of the largest proletarian stratum, but also to a great reduction in the political and social influence of the Jews and the collaborating magnate class.

Examining the causes, circumstances and process of the rise to power of the Jews, Sándor Kiss becomes increasingly convinced that the development of Jewish vitality was only possible because of the existence of willing paid helpers among the gentile society. These were the ones who took it upon themselves to protect the Jews from the anti-Semitic masses. In the course of his study of this social phenomenon, Sándor Kiss' attention was increasingly drawn to the magnate class. It was well known that the upper classes had the closest family and business connections with the Jewish community and the Jewish plutocracy in our country long before the World War. He used his political power, influence and authority to protect the Jews. Especially during the counter-revolution, the alliance of interests between the Jews and the aristocracy was very evident. The aristocracy was nowhere to be seen in the counter-revolutionary movements and organisations, and did not support the racial protection efforts with its authority, influence or material power. Either it turned indifferently away from the great awakening of the Hungarian people, or it took a rejectionist and hostile position and lined up on the public stage in defence of the Jews. This behaviour of the great majority of the nobility rightly aroused the resentment of the racist and anti-Semitic masses.

There was a general conviction that the nobility was incapable of understanding the situation of the plundered and exploited masses of Hungarians, that it could not understand the feelings of these masses, because it had become completely separated in spirit and thought from the Hungarian people.

Sándor Kiss had already been warned of this role of the aristocracy in 1918 by Count Kinszky, the well-known Austrian aristocrat, who, when he learned that Kiss was writing anti-Semitic articles, smiled and said that he would soon be writing articles against the aristocracy, because the aristocracy had given itself as an instrument to Jewry. Indeed, this is what happened. Kiss was forced to criticise the aristocracy for its pro-Jewish attitude more and more often in his anti-Semitic studies. Finally, he devoted a series of studies to the historical role of the aristocracy, its social position, upbringing and living conditions, and its political behaviour. In these articles, although entirely objective, he is undoubtedly rightly critical of the aristocracy, in a firm and sharply defined tone. The first article, entitled The historical value of the nobility, appeared in The Goal in early 1923. Here, he immediately raised the question: why did the Jews become powerful again in Hungary, why did the resistance of self-conscious Hungarians decline? No matter how we examine the question, we come again and again to the aristocracy, the large landowning magnate class, as the inhibiting cause. The large landowning aristocracy is clearly in favour of Jewish parasitism and sells its enormous economic power and social prestige in its favour. It was from within the aristocracy that the movement for the emancipation of the Jews began in 1867. The aristocracy, having been duly rewarded in the form of business dividends, board of directors' commissions, newspaper praise and political support, watched with guilty complacency as the new authorities devoured the most Hungarian middle classes and bourgeoisie. In the course of a few decades, Jewry has developed into a terrifying power, which is now striving with full self-consciousness towards its goal, the politically organised Jewish supremacy. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was already

the Jews are undoubtedly the absolute rulers of Hungary and not the king. The great landed gentry, as one man, submit to the new power, and even enter into an alliance with it. The entire nobility is almost without exception pro-Jewish.

The prosecutor's office has initiated proceedings against Sándor Kiss for incitement against the department because of certain statements in this article. The rest of his study was published in fragments in A Nép. For the main hearing of the trial, Kiss prepared a lengthy defence document (published in A Célban), in which he tries to refute the prosecution's objections point by point. He protests against the charge of incitement, claims that he has fought against Jewish revolutionary incitement all his life, and merely wanted to give an objective but honest and unvarnished critique of the aristocracy.
From that stratum, whose youth, in the most tragic hours and in the most critical situation of the nation, spends its time in idle and empty amusements, it forms the Hungarian National Rickshaw Association and keeps itself quite aloof from the difficult struggle of the Hungarian people. The press trial dragged on for three years. In 1926, the Curia finally sentenced Sándor Kiss to one month in prison. The sentence was later commuted to a fine of 1,500,000 crowns by way of a pardon. From then on, Kiss Sándor no longer wrote any more articles on racial protection. For him, racialist journalism no longer existed. A valuable, great and courageous fighter had been lost to the already sparse race camp. The departure of Alexander Kiss from the ranks of the race intellectuals was a great, almost irreplaceable loss. But he could not help it; he was still subjected to many hobbles, gangs, neglect and persecution after the verdict.

Sándor Kiss deserves an important place in the Hungarian anti-Semitic, racist intellectual endeavours, based on his work. Most of his work was done in the most critical times. During the five years between 1917 and 1922, he wrote most of his enlightening articles and studies, when they were most needed and when their writing involved the most danger, the most courage, the greatest sacrifice and risk. If we consider that he wrote some two dozen valuable studies and essays in five years, we must regret all the more that he has been silenced for almost two decades.

Sándor Kiss was breaking new ground, promoting new ideas and new thoughts, and his writings were characterised by scientific rigour, independence, originality, clarity of style and courageous honesty. Sándor Kiss is one of the few people for whom serving the cause of race protection has not only brought no advantages, no easier access to power, not even moral recognition, but on the contrary, only unjust persecution and bitterness. But Sándor Kiss never expected any recognition for his work. His deep idealism, his fervent love of race, his fanatical desire to serve the Hungarian people, led him to proclaim in the most difficult times the ideals whose fulfilment we are now hoping to see.

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Béla Dáner.

Fight for the new Hungary!

The struggle which the pioneers of Hungarian anti-Semitism have waged almost uninterruptedly since the time after the Compromise of '67 against the social, political, economic and moral norms and forms prevailing in liberal Hungary, fatally infected with false ideas, false slogans and prejudices, has never been primarily for political power, the possession of that power and apparent political success. It was much more than that. It was a life and death struggle. It was a desperate struggle against the new conquerors, the newcomers, the influx of Jews, and against all that the proliferation and conquest of Jewry brought with it. It was a struggle against the Jews, who had come here naked, empty-handed, but with the tribal cohesion and the unity of blood, the racial morality, the mercantile and commercial skills that had been formed over the centuries, and which had been used to uproot whole social classes in a short time. The dominant ideals of the age, Judaism's notorious adaptability, the mobile capital which miraculously accumulated only in the hands of a chosen people, gave it almost unlimited influence.

The distinct spirituality represented by Judaism was also deeply ingrained in Hungarian public thought. It caused internal disintegration, confusion and disunity. A separate Jewish-Hungarian spirituality emerged in our cultural life, which was Hungarian in appearance, but this Hungarianism or rather Magyarism was distorted, false and grotesque, and deeply corrupted pure and true Hungarianism in form, feeling and content. The humiliating feeling of social, political and intellectual sinking forced the first fighters of the Hungarian racial defence to step out into the battlefield. Almost every decade of the post-reunification era had its own fervent, sacrificial race defenders. First Istóczy, then Verhovay, later Egan and Miklós Bartha, then Miklós Szemere tried to awaken the national conscience. None of them pursued a so-called realpolitik. They did not consider how much success their enterprise could achieve, how much prospect there was of achieving their goals. Their conduct was guided by a single criterion: to see if they could succeed in making the Hungarian people aware of the hopelessness of their situation. To undertake this mission meant a lifetime of resignation, exclusion and a nerve-wracking struggle against an all-consuming, vindictive, powerful and mighty adversary. Not only did they have to stand up to the relentless, nerve-wracking pursuit of Jewry, but the official governmental authorities of the day were hostile, or at least antipathetic, to the leaders of anti-Semitic, racist endeavours. Yet there were always those who accepted this fate with loyalty and devotion.

The scope of this work does not allow us to commemorate all the intellectual pioneers of Hungarian anti-Semitism. In addition to those who are mentioned in this work, there were many others who stood on the front line and honestly took their part in the difficult and hard work of pioneering, who were heroes and fanatics of an ideal, a truth.

Zoltán Bosnyák: THE TRAVELLERS OF HUNGARIAN FAJVÉDELEM

Among those who have contributed abundantly to the shaping of the intellectual face of Hungarian anti-Semitism and Hungarian racial defence, who have enriched the intellectual arsenal of Hungarian racial defence with their pen, words, ideas and thoughts, who have attempted to shed light on the confusion that Jewry has artificially created in Hungarian intellectual life, we must also mention Béla Dáner.

Dáner is one of the most broad-minded, educated, selfless and fanatical personalities of the counter-revolutionary period. He was born in 1884 in Uzon, in the county of Tricis. He completed his secondary education in Brasov. He studied at the University of Budapest. As a university student he already played a significant role in nationalist right-wing youth movements. He was an excellent sportsman. He was one of the most enthusiastic pioneers of college sports. In 1911, he obtained a judgeship. He became a court clerk in the capital. He was among the first to come out of the firing line at the outbreak of the Great War. He spent forty-one months on the battlefield. He was awarded a number of military decorations. He was known as one of the most outstanding, bravest and daring artillery officers of the monarchy. For a long time, his daring feats were the talk of military circles. His soldiers surrounded him with adoring affection, and he took the concerns and troubles of every one of his men to heart. After the collapse, he became involved in the counter-revolutionary organisation. He was one of the most enduring and valuable public figures of the post-red reign of terror. A model of selflessness and sacrifice. He was not only a brilliant penman, but also an excellent orator.

His direct, passionate speeches made a deep impression on the audience. He was particularly popular among the peasantry. He edited a newspaper called Hortobágy, which became one of the most militant and radical anti-Semitic anti-racist newspapers in the Tiszántúl region. In the first National Assembly elections, the district of Hajdúszoboszló elected him as a deputy with a Christian national unification party platform. Dáner worked a lot in the Association of Awakening Hungarians. He played a significant role in the development of this association into the most powerful social organisation in the country. Its members numbered several hundred thousand. Dáner later became one of the founders of the Party for the Protection of the Species, in whose work he also played a major part. He was constantly attending organizing and agitation meetings. His courageous and tough speeches were always greeted with enthusiastic celebration. He contributed a great deal to the newspaper of the Party for the Protection of the Species, the Soyuz. In his articles, his main demand was for a rapid and radical solution to the Jewish question. He was not to be silenced by mockery, slander, threats or revolver balls. In vain was he assassinated on the premises of the Party for the Protection of the Race, when he was nearly killed by the bullet of his Jewish assailant. These attacks and assassinations only encouraged Danner to fight harder and more determinedly. As the royal attorney general, he lodged a lengthy petition against the Curia's decision to officially classify the Jews as a denomination. He did not negotiate or compromise his principles, either upwards or downwards. When confronted by his superiors because of the aforementioned petition, he resigned his position rather than change his position.

Béla Dáner followed in the footsteps of Miklós Bartha, who was also sent into Hungarian public life by the land of Transylvania. The dangers against which Miklós Bartha had already spent a lifetime fighting desperately were much greater, almost formidable, in the time of Dáner, who entered public life a generation later. The nationalist disruption and agitation had escalated into open incitement. The situation in the Transylvanian extremities was by this time reaching a crisis point. Dáner was able to observe these phenomena and judge their consequences from one of the main centres of this ethnic mine-working, Brasov. Parallel to this anti-state activity, which was supported and backed from outside, another no less dangerous campaign of subversion was under way in the capital, inside the country

was launched. In the heart of the country, a loud-mouthed Jewish fiscal has a decisive say in the conduct of public affairs. The political, economic, intellectual and social life of Budapest is dominated by the Jewish plutocracy, the ghetto democracy of Vázsonyi Weiszfeld, the social democracy led by Kunfi-Garami and the radical sociology of Jászi Jakobovics-Pikler and the Jewish-controlled press. At the extremes are the nationalities, at the heart of the country the Jews, and in the face of this double onslaught of foreign and hostile forces, Hungarian society stands helpless, powerless, and surrendering to its fate, losing its purpose and direction. Few people at that time understood the burden of this tragic situation as deeply as Béla Dáner. What an inner turmoil and anguish he must have gone through, when he was struck by the foreboding that the heroic efforts and blood sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of his comrades were in vain, because behind the facade everything was loose and disintegrating.

Like Miklós Bartha, Dáner, even before the outbreak of the World War, urged action against the irredentist aspirations of the Oláh, and called for a strong struggle not only, or at least not only, by administrative and law enforcement means, but also in political, social, economic and intellectual fields. Unfortunately, virtually nothing happened in this direction. On the contrary, Jászi's defeatist and pseudo-scientific propaganda was allowed to flow freely, with the sole aim of supporting the nationalist aspirations and demands that were destroying the country from within.

Amidst the hardships and trials of life on the front, he ponders the future and fate of Hungary. At the beginning of 1917, he already foresaw the inevitable fate:

"Behind us is the inner rot, which coats the barrel of our weapons with filth, depression, sludge, and puts rust on the edge of our swords. Let a hundred foes come openly against us with courage, we look them calmly in the eye. But the chewing of the inward worm is not long for our muscles. The sword falls from our hand." Out on the battlefield, Dáner witnessed with his own eyes the consequences of the disintegration initiated from within; the decline of the army's spiritual resilience and fighting capacity. It was obvious that if this process was allowed to continue unabated, external collapse would be inevitable. That is why he sent home his despairing articles, demanding that defeatism and spiritual destruction be checked. In passionate words, he calls for racial unity, self-consciousness, cohesion, and a rapid and effective Hungarian racial defence which can crush the enemy forces in time. False slogans and programmes must be pushed aside and trampled underfoot at a time when the nation is fighting a life-and-death struggle. Dáner cannot escape the feeling that there is some slowly digesting foreign poison flowing around the nation's organism, breaking, washing, crumbling the nation-preserving qualities and energy of Hungarian racialism. He writes these things towards the end of 1917, when Jewish radical and social-democratic electoral agitation and nationalist agitation had already appeared quite openly and boldly, and Jewry was grinning defiantly in the face of the Hungarian nation on its way to its doom, and the cowardly bullies and empty-headed demagogues in the enemy's pay were barely concealing their treasonable intentions, openly allying themselves with our external enemies to break the country's internal resistance.

The Jews at this time make no secret of the fact that they are no longer content with the management of the material and spiritual life of the country, but are asking for a share, and even wish to take political leadership for themselves. In a lengthy article, Dánér describes the ways, means and means of this Jewish power grab. This process began with Csemegi and ended with Vázsonyi. Csemegi created a system of law which gave the Jews' special racial crimes and racial interests the widest protection. The Csemegi-Nash legal system enabled the Jews, writes Dáner, to get their hands on the money and capital of the whole country within a few decades.

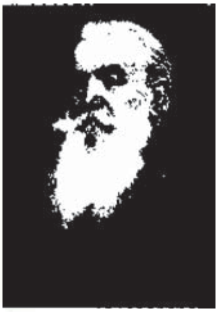
Once the wealth was there, what came next: power! How else could Jews gain political power: universal suffrage by secret ballot. Dáner was firmly convinced that the introduction of universal suffrage, as demanded by the radical social democrats at the end of the world war, would lead the country into a catastrophe, giving a decisive role to the nationalities, on the one hand, because of their considerable numbers, and, on the other, to the Jews, because of the enormous capital power they had accumulated. Indeed, there could be no doubt that the draft electoral law drafted by Vázsonyi, if it had actually come into force, as the press was almost 100 per cent in Jewish hands and had almost all the considerable financial resources at its disposal, would have resulted in the enormous advance of Jewish, radical, Marxist and nationalist forces with well-organised and financial resources. Just as Csemegi-Nash drafted the penal code with Jewish interests in mind, in order to enable the Jews to gain the upper hand in property and material matters, so in 1917 Vilmos Vázsonyi- Weiszfeld, the all-powerful leader of the Democratic political front, drafted the electoral law with Jewish interests in mind, in order to enable the Jews to gain political and state power.
"I can't help thinking that there is a fatal connection between Csemegi and Vázsonyi's performance.
But who is this Vilmos Vázsonyi? asks Béla Dáner. "He claims to be Hungarian, perhaps he even wears a sign around his neck saying so. But I think he represents the most detestable type of foreigner in Hungary today, arrogant to the point of self-indulgence. He is arrogant to the point of impertinence and vain to the point of pathos. He insults inexhaustibly to the right and to the left, but never gives satisfaction to anyone. Is he a Hungarian type? There is one Hungarian trait in this man. No!
Just as there is not a drop of Hungarian blood in his veins."
And what was the ultimate and real purpose of Vázsonyi and his policies? He himself answers this question very characteristically: let us work day in and day out, let us make the country a fiery cauldron of passions, there must not be a moment of peace or tranquillity here.

István Tisza was remembered by the same Vázsonyi as a political sadist, raging and raving against the poor, swallowing from behind bayonets, kicking the man in the dust, and who has not yet shown what he knows of his own wit and will. Vázsonyi makes no secret of the fact that he is trying to whip up the passions of the lower classes of the people the plebeians must come to this country he has constantly voiced. And what happened when he became minister? It was soon clear that by plebeians he meant only his own kind. Now he no longer cared anything for the agitated, inflamed lower social strata. Vázsonyi was suddenly no longer interested in the problems and troubles of the plebeians, Dáner aptly observes, but he was all the more interested in the Jewish war transport swindlers. They were the ones who had to be rescued from their predicament, these unscrupulous hyenas of profit, whose soulless and sinful businessmen had so much suffering, tears and blood on their hands.

After the counter-revolution, Béla Dáner was one of the few who worked without rest for the victory of constructive and non-compromising racial defence. He confessed that "in our life-and-death struggle with the Jews, there is no stopping, no rest, no reconciliation and no compromise, one of the two opposing signals must necessarily remain inferior. In his speeches in parliament, on his agitation tours, in newspaper articles, he urged without ceasing for a radical solution to the Jewish question. We must ensure the free and unrestricted assertion and prosperity of the Hungarian people in their own homeland; this is one of the most important prerequisites for the rapid and successful reconstruction of a country in ruins. Of the many, of little value, loud-mouthed and nimble-armed ruffians who emerged in the maelstrom of counter-revolution, Béla Dáner, with his knowledge, preparation, skills, honesty and commitment to the cause of race protection

has stood out for his sacrifice. His untimely death was a great loss for the intellectual frontline of Hungarian racial protection.

IRODALOM:
Béla Dánér: New Hungary, 1918.
The Solution of the Jewish Question,
1919.



Árpád Gálócsy.

Marxism must be destroyed.

In the summer of 1923, a simple, unpretentious-looking small print was circulated in the working-class districts of the capital. The small booklet was entitled Letters of Public Interest. It was published twice a month, with Árpád Gálócsy as editor and publisher. These pamphlets soon became the most important intellectual tool of the national society in its struggle against the renewed, disruptive Marxist agitation. The Letters of Public Interest were indeed much needed at the time of their launch. The all-consuming momentum of the counter-revolution of 1919 was already very much ebbing away. Everything was back to normal. The neo-liberal public spirit was gaining ground in the country. The Jews, too, had recovered from their initial fright. It was back in control and gaining more and more influence. Along with Jewry, domestic Marxism felt that the time had come to make its voice heard again. Hungarian public opinion forgot easily and forgave quickly. Yet the events of 1918 and 1919 were still close enough to be forgotten. The shame and disgrace of the terrible nine months from October 1918 to August 1919 should not have been lightly erased from our memory. The most elementary commandment of national self-defence demanded that we learn from the terrible lessons of the Red Reign of Terror and eradicate once and for all from the country even the germ of all forms of Marxism.

However, this did not take place. The definitive abolition of Marxism did not take place in 1919. In fact, by 1921, official government policy was already engaged in negotiations and bargaining with them. In the course of these negotiations, the Marxists in Hungary made a binding promise to renounce their past and align themselves with national interests. In return for their promise, they could enter the legislature. In the second national elections, the Marxist party in Hungary won twenty-five seats, thanks to the government. This turn of events rightly caused consternation among the broadest sections of national society. Barely two years had passed since the Marxist, Social Democratic and Communist parties, almost exclusively under Jewish leadership, had plunged the country into ruin and disaster, and now, behold, representatives of this political tendency were given seats in the legislature. Events soon proved those who did not believe the Marxist promises right. Social revolutionary incitement, if in a different guise, if with more cautious slogans and in a more veiled form, was making a comeback. The national the public was shocked to ask: how could it be that the same people who sat in the Soviet Council, who played a major role in preparing, organising and directing the Red Reign of Terror, were now in the Hungarian legislature? Only shortsightedness and ignorance can explain this turn of events. So what is the most urgent action to be taken in this situation? The rapid and thorough enlightenment of leaders and executives on the essence and principles of Marxism, on what Marxist ideas look like in practice, who are the instigators, disseminators and implementers of this intellectual contagion, what are the consequences of the fulfilment of Marxist ideas for national society, peasants, workers, families, the Church and the State.

Árpád Gálócsy launched Letters of Public Interest primarily with this aim in mind. He not only published and edited these pamphlets, but also wrote most of the articles himself. Gálócsy had already been actively involved in various national movements for some time. In the autumn of 1918, he was one of the founders of the League for the Defence of Territorial Integrity, which was organising to defend the country's territorial integrity. But he also took part in all serious national movements.
His organisational skills and agility made him almost indispensable. His wealth of life experience, his keen powers of observation and his wide reading made him at home on almost all public issues. Whether it was a question of economics, social affairs, politics or nationality, he always had his own individual viewpoint and was always able to bring new perspectives to the discussion. His position on every issue was always determined by the one hundred percent service of the interests of the racial Hungarian community.
It was an excellent debater. He crushed and refuted his opponents' arguments with ease, was an honest and forthright character, and never hid his convictions and opinions from anyone. He always stood up for what he said. He was not a man of conciliations or compromises, but a man of struggle and battle. His views were firm, clear and in every respect well-honed. In speech and in writing, he confronted his opponents with a confident and calm superiority, but with fire and temperament.

Indeed, when Gálócsy and his colleagues launched their series of journals, they were guided purely by the public interest. He was not seeking any kind of recognition or popularity. No one's name was even on the pamphlets. The Letters of Public Interest soon became very popular, first and foremost among interested workers. After the one-sided, biased intellectual terror of the party and the trade union, the more intelligent section of the working class took great interest in the pamphlets, which cast the all-powerful Marxist dogmas in a completely new light, pulled the veil off them, proved their meaninglessness and untenability, and at the same time showed the path on which the working class must proceed if it is to improve its own class situation and serve the cause of the whole national community. The Letters of Public Interest put the social and economic situation of the working class and its future development in a completely new light, one that was adapted to reality and took account of the realities of the situation. When Árpád Gálócsy took upon himself the task of enlightening the working masses, he was in fact undertaking a task that no one had dared or been able to touch for decades. That is why both the industrial and the peasant proletariat became the free prey of the agitation of the neurotic and impetuous, unscrupulous Jewish intellectuals, the springboard of their sick and vile desires for power. Gálócsy, now realising the danger of not freeing the working class from the influence of Marxist intellectual giddiness, has single-handedly tried to make up for the decades of neglect of the entire Hungarian intelligentsia. That these efforts were not ineffective and were not in vain is proved by the series of harsh attacks on him from the social-democratic side. The Marxist leaders knew very well that Gálócsy's mass enlightenment work would sooner or later have an impact on the misled working masses. More and more people would be disillusioned turn their backs on the rootless Marxist ideology, alien to life, dreary, hateful, and destructive of all nobler ideals.

Gálócsy, as a mining engineer, spent a significant part of his life in the working world. He had an excellent knowledge of the mindset, thinking and living conditions of the working class. He addressed them in their spirit and according to their way of thinking in his discussion papers, and his writings exude the breath of life. When we read his notebooks, we have the feeling that we are face to face with the writer, who is trying to convince us not with the dead letter but with the power of the living word.

Although most of Gálócsy's public struggles were spent in intellectual battles with Marxism, social democracy and Bolshevism, his interest and sphere of activity extended to almost all areas of Hungarian national politics, and he was deeply concerned with the nationality question. He was not guided by unilateralism, bias or even intolerance, but he was most fiercely opposed to all efforts that sought to curtail the rights of the Hungarian people or to endanger the Hungarian state spirit and the territorial unity of the country.

On the Jewish question, he was an ardent champion of the pure Hungarian racialist position. He considered the Jewish threat so great that in order to avert it, the united and organised strength of the whole Hungarian nation must be brought to bear. Jewry is a hostile, poisonous and infectious foreign body in the organisation of Hungarian society, which must be removed as soon as possible if we wish to ensure calm and uninterrupted national development.

But it was the fight against Marxism and social democracy that occupied him most and most willingly. Nothing here escaped his attention. He had an excellent knowledge of the whole ideological and intellectual armoury of Marxism: the writings of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Kautsky and other Marxist theorists, as well as the various manifestos, congress resolutions and programmes. His main aim was to prove, by their own statements and declarations, the absurdity and untenability of their basic tenets and their contradictions, their socially destructive and nationally destructive aims. In particular, Gálócsy sought to show how Marxism and its political spokesmen were not afraid to resort to the most crude means to achieve their ends.

He contrasts the reality of class mixing with the theory of class struggle. He points out that there can be no talk of sharp class distinctions and class demarcations, because there are none in reality. The dividing lines between classes are blurred. Not to mention the fact that class change, social ascent and descent, is a constant process. By artificially exacerbating the conflict of interests between employer and employee, Gálócsy contrasts the alignment of interests. The father of the Communist Manifesto is hatred, the mother is ignorance, he writes in one of his letters. It is full of false prejudices and foolish delusions. One by one, its predictions for the development of society have been belied by time. A hundred years ago, the Manifesto arrogantly stated that man would be reduced to the slave of the machine, when in reality he had become the master of the machine.

Gálócsy did not fail to emphasise enough that there is no difference in essence between the various shades and tendencies of Marxism. Social Democracy and Communism (Bolshevism) may differ somewhat in their means, methods and tactics, but the ultimate aim is the same. Social Democracy becomes Bolshevism as soon as political conditions make this possible or even necessary. Otherwise, social democracy is neither social nor democratic, nothing more than a lying hypocrisy. It promises and demands freedom of speech and of the press, but

if it comes to power, it suppresses all other ideas, thoughts and aspirations by ruthless means. Almost every issue of the Letters of Public Interest proved again and again, with a whole mass of quotations and data, that social democracy and Bolshevism are the twin children of Marxism. They spring from the same root and lead to the same goal. Social democracy uses the word socialism instead of communism for tactical reasons, that is the difference between them. But by the two names they always mean the same thing.
Gálócsy was very familiar with the inner life, the spirit, the thinking of the leaders, the duplicity and the tactics of the domestic Marxist party and trade unions, which characterised their politics. In the introduction to the 1918 programme of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, for example, it states that "...like all the social democratic parties of the world, the Communist Manifesto of 1848 by Charles Marx and Frigyes Engels is the source of the party's programme. This Manifesto is the bible of class consciousness and the gospel of the necessity of class struggle. The programme starts from the agreement in principle that the socialisation of the capitalist means of production as a means of eliminating exploitation and oppression will necessitate a new social order. To make the proletariat aware of its situation, to awaken it to its task, to make it physically and mentally fit for struggle is the closest goal of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party."

In line with this objective, the party programme states, inter alia, that there is no private ownership of the means of production. The working class must conquer political power and wage a purposeful class struggle. Class struggle is an international struggle. The party is an international party which sympathises with the oppressed of all countries.

The programme of the Communist Party of Hungary, the Bolsheviks, also of 1918, is almost identical in its introduction to that of the Social Democratic Party. This introductory part reads literally as follows. The Social-Democrats and Communists alike want to communize and communize, to make common all the means of production, which are now private property in the form of landed property, factories, mines, or capital."

Gálócsy warned the working class against believing its leaders, who were for the most part unscrupulous Jewish demagogues with muddled heads who used the party and trade unions, the workers' movement, for easy gain. If the workers want to turn against their real exploiters, they can find them most easily in their own party and trade unions, he writes in one of his Public Interest Letters.
His original idea was to send a circular letter to all those public figures who had been rudely and vulgarly attacked by Népszava, calling on them to seek satisfaction for their individual honour and to launch a press campaign against the Marxists' house paper in the interests of the universal national interest. As a result of this action by Gálóczy, no fewer than 39 press lawsuits were brought against Népszava in a short space of time.

In these lawsuits, the newspaper was fined around 500 million crowns. This huge sum has plunged the Social Democrats' newspaper into a serious financial crisis.

The Letters of Public Interest protested most vehemently against the plan to repatriate Jewish emigrants who had fled abroad to escape the oppressive hand of justice. In connection with the action of the Social Democratic Party to this end, it again emphatically points out that this party is nothing but a Communist hotbed, and that Bolshevism in our country originated with the Social Democratic Party. In the party's programme and its political objectives were much closer to the Bolsheviks than to the more radical bourgeois parties. In Hungary, the rats of the social plague called Bolshevism are the Social Democrats.

Gálócsy was right to refer to the historical fact that on 21 March 1919, the Bélas Kun family had seized power in the collective prison with the help of the Social Democrats. Communism and social democracy are the worldview of the mad or the rogue. Those who profess such principles should therefore be locked up either in the madhouse or in prison. Gálóczy's fight against Marxism was not in vain, it opened the eyes of the ignorant and indifferent and awakened a desire among the working masses for liberation from criticism and intellectual terror.

For many years, the weekly newspaper Magyarok Lapja, founded, edited and published by Gálócsy, served the cause of Hungarian racial protection. In it, too, he fought hard against Marxist, Jewish, liberal and Masonic political and intellectual aspirations. The Magyarok Lapja followed the difficult fate, agonies and bitter ordeals of the Hungarians who remained beyond the borders of the remaining country with a jealous care. It faithfully cherished the ancient Hungarian traditions, morals and ideals. It fiercely opposed all attempts to usurp our national independence, which we had gained after four centuries of foreign rule, or to diminish the right of the Hungarians to leadership as a state-creating and sustaining race. He reminded the Hungarian public of the Turanian origins of the Hungarian people, of their duty and vocation, and established intellectual links with the related Turanian peoples. He wanted to revive the faded racial consciousness of the Hungarians in its old strength, influence and greatness. Every line and every letter of the Magyarok Lapja was written in the spirit of the Hungarian racial idea, and was born of honest and pure intentions.

Árpád Gálócsy was a mining engineer of European renown. However, he always had time to devote to public affairs. He dedicated all his time, energy, skills and possessions to the service of the public interest. He was the first to stand up for all just Hungarian causes. He worked tirelessly, his stamina was incredible. He knew no rest, no pause. he was always finding new and new tasks and things to do. His individuality radiates will power and the will to act. His name was rarely mentioned in public. And his influence and his word were decisive on many, many issues. Even if many people often disagreed with him, on every issue he was acknowledged, even by his opponents, to have had pure intentions and honest weapons. He never expected or accepted any honours for his work. The greatest reward was for him to see the results of his labours. He was a fierce individual, but he was a master in the toughest fight and he was Hungarian. He was happy to forgive his opponents, but there was one thing on which he never gave an iota: the rights of eternal Hungarianism.

The following lines, written by Professor Lajos Méhely in the December 1934 issue of A Cél on the occasion of his death, are a striking description of Árpád Gálócsy's human and Hungarian personality:
"As long as he was with us, as long as we lived under the spell of the warm radiance emanating from his noble soul, we could not even appreciate this apostle of the Hungarian nation, who was an apostle of God's special grace, who united in himself all the strength, will, knowledge, love and enthusiasm which is so indispensable and so necessary in the better future of the orphaned Hungarian nation.
But now that our dear brother is crying at the foot of Hadur's footstool for his beloved dear people, we feel numbly the gaping void that has opened since his passing, and ask with anxious soul: is the lofty but heavy legacy of our great dead

can our frail shoulders take it?

For Gálócsy was the custodian of the noble virtue of a glorious past, and perhaps the last of the Mohicans of that rare type of man in today's decadent world, which can best be compared to the enthusiastic and cultured signatories of a bygone age.

If anyone, then Árpád Gálócsy would be literally inspired by the words of the jurist and writer Lőrinc Tóth, with which he commemorated András Fáy at a meeting of the Kisfaludy Society in 1865:

"...I mean the enthusiastic and cultivated clerk, this free daily wage-earner of the sacred homeland, who, not seeking material reward, not seeking vain glory and glamour, despising the mask of tempting honours, titles, decorations, and even neglecting his self-interest, devotes every minute of his life to public affairs, serving the country with honour and enthusiasm.... and for all this he expects no other reward than to be told by his fellow-citizens, "The honourable judge is an honest man and a good patriot."

Such was simply the brave man and good patriot Árpád Gálócsy, whose footsteps many great, dignified and gracious gentlemen cannot even follow, because the degree of holy fire that put him at the service of his country and his nation, the flaming enthusiasm that ordered him to fight for the Hungarian race, is the gift of certain privileged ones, the inspired, the chanting and apostolic."

Lajos Méhely.

Out of the political, intellectual, ideological and social crisis in which we have been living for decades, new guiding ideas and principles are emerging in ever more decisive form, which are the future paths of the development of cultural humanism. In ever larger areas of our continent, these new ideas and new truths are coming to dominate, and are the guiding principles of the new organisation of the state and the nation, the development of political institutions, the renewal of science and art, and the transformation of public thought. Political, social and economic institutions built on the anti-natural slogans of liberalism and Marxism have failed to ensure the uninterrupted and correct development of humanity, and even perpetuated a crisis which has led to the symptoms of decay, disintegration and decline.

Great thinkers, who sought the essence of humanity, the eternal and ultimate laws of its existence, came to recognize these new principles of life as early as the second half of the last century and the turn of the century. It is enough to mention the names of Gobineau, Chamberlain and Madison Grant. They and other researchers who followed in their footsteps pointed out emphatically that mankind must conform to the ideal of raciality, in other words, must search for, learn and apply the great laws governing existence in all its manifestations if it is to ensure its survival and the free development of its inner being. Following the lead of the first researchers, a feverish activity soon began within the various disciplines, and we soon came into possession of surprising and never before suspected results and discoveries. The unquenchable thirst for knowledge of the laws of life and the essence of species soon gave rise to new disciplines, largely based on abstract observation, measurement, data collection and comparison. From anthropology and heredity, one after the other, are emerging species biology, social anthropology, applied racial health and other sub-sciences. This large-scale scientific research sheds new and surprising light on the past, present and future of humanity, on decisive events and turning points in universal human and national history, on the glory and decline of empires, the flowering and passing of cultures, political aspirations and intellectual movements. At the same time, old slogans and dogmas that were thought to be irrefutable lose their intrinsic value and authority, while others are given a whole new meaning, a new formulation and a new explanation.

Like all new epoch-changing intellectual and ideological endeavours, the idea of race, the idea of racism, could not easily come to the fore. It has had to contend with ignorance, dilettantism and the obstinacy of the pompous, alongside much good-natured and honest criticism. Of course, as a new science, it had first of all to define its place, its role, its relations with other disciplines, to establish its aims and tasks, to develop its methods and procedures and, as a new idea, to define its own clear and precise meaning and content, and therefore the science of race science and the idea of race itself could not initially be free of contradictions and errors. But both have long since passed this stage. And even if there are still unresolved questions in race science, as there are in all sciences, it is quite certain that
sooner or later, these questions will be answered.
It is interesting, and particularly characteristic of our relations, that while the Western cultures had a decades-long history of scientific and intellectual research into race and racial thought, we were unable to take up these new ideas, while at the same time they were disintegrating national forces, defetishist, cosmopolitan ideas that were destroying national forces and weakening our spiritual and moral resistance found a free path and gained admission.

But by then it was too late, the outcome could not be delayed. If we look for the reasons why Hungarian public opinion did not take note of the racial idea and why it did not try to draw strength from it, we immediately find our butler confronted with Judaism and its great influence on the whole Hungarian intellectual life. The hostile attitude of Jewry towards the racial idea is easy to understand. It was the Jews who knew best the significance and influence of the racial idea. It owes its survival to the racial consciousness that has been passed down through its blood through the millennia of dispersion. The Jews knew very well that they could enjoy a privileged position among the host peoples only as long as they did not awaken to racial consciousness. Once that happened, the situation of the Jews would immediately turn into a crisis. That is why he suppressed as far as he could all attempts to promote racial awareness and racial unity in Hungarian society. In the aftermath of the collapse of 1918, Hungarian society finally realised the consequences of a nation's abandonment of its racial traditions, its loss of racial pride and racial consciousness, and learned the consequences of such behaviour at its own expense. The masses had the great awakening, but lacked someone to use it as a constructive force. In the confusion of ideas and slogans, in the turmoil of individuals, parties and movements, the essence of the counter-revolution was lost, lost, and by the time we came to ourselves we were back where we were before 1918, in liberal Hungary. We had hoped in vain that social unity without classes would not be achieved, that social reforms would not be carried out, and that spiritual renewal would not take place. In the end, the whole counter-revolutionary impetus left nothing of value other than the idea of racial protection. This was the condensation of the vision of a reconstructed Hungary. This word meant resistance against the oppressive material and spiritual dictatorship of the Jews, it meant the uplift of the Hungarian bloodline, which was deeply below the lowest level of existence, it meant the spiritual refreshment of the Hungarian nation. But the

Zoltán Bosnyák: THE TRAVELLERS OF HUNGARIAN FAJVÉDELEM

The idea of racial protection was given a scientific basis, deeper content, far-reaching and soul-shaking power, in other words, meaning and life by one man, and that was Lajos Méhelyos In his interpretation, racial protection was an uplifting, strong, courageous and decisive new creed about Hungarianism. His teachings and truths of racial protection were born in the cool, objective world of science, to radiate light and fire into the wistful darkness of stagnation and apathy. After much life experience), in-depth research, reflection and contemplation, Beeke's system of ideas on landscape conservation emerges as a colourful, rich, fascinating and wonderful world of ideas. One study after another is born, and in them the whole true past, turbulent centuries and mysterious future of the Hungarian people come alive, the outlines of a modern racial worldview unfold, all of whose findings are based on scientific truths, historical and biological facts, and consistently carried through. Bee is equally searching for the sins of the past, the causes of failure and decline, and the ways and means of ascension. Hungarian intellectual life has been enriched by an interesting and original system of thought, and Hungarians have been able to learn about themselves, the mysteries of their existence and the secrets of their future. The vague concept of Hungarianism, its vague definition, will be closed into a clear, definite concept. In his studies on the protection of the race, Méhely first and foremost introduces us to the concept, essence and character of the Hungarian race, examines the relationship between Hungarians and Jews, sets out the tasks of Hungarian racial protection and creates a Hungarian world view.

The Hungarian race.

Clarifying the question of the Hungarian race was essential. The confusion and uncertainty in this area could not wait any longer. Is there a Hungarian Jáj, what is the Hungarian race? These are questions that are crucial to the development of a world view on race. Hungarian race research was one of the most neglected disciplines. There were one or two tentative observations of uncertain value, measurements of stature and skulls were made, but no one bothered to properly evaluate the material collected. Foreign researchers visiting Hungary had to warn us about the peculiar racial features of the Hungarian people.

Hungary, the central basin of the Danube, is a meeting place of peoples and races. The most diverse racial groups in Europe come into contact here. Dinaric, Alpine, Nordic and Eastern Baltic are all found in equal numbers. The superficial observer who looks only at the human population of the towns or the settlements around the towns will easily come to the conclusion that there is no real Hungarian human population. Looking at the matter from a historical point of view, it is equally easy to come to the false conclusion that, as a result of large-scale resettlement and constant intermingling, there is no longer any Hungarian population of any blood. At most, there are individuals and fragments, but not coherent larger groups.
True Hungarianism, dissolved and mixed up, some proclaimed. But the sharp-eyed and discerning researchers have recognised that the real Hungarians are here, and in significant numbers among the peasant and peasant masses, and in much smaller numbers among a part of the landed middle class. This mass, which makes up a significant percentage of the country's population, has its own specific human and psychological characteristics. They are there, we just need to be aware of them and be able to recognise them. So far we have not paid much attention to this stratum, at most we have dealt with them from an ethnographic point of view, and more recently we have included them more in our social concerns, but we have not paid them any attention from a racial point of view. A considerable part of Hungarian public opinion soon came to accept that Hungarians no longer existed in racial terms, but rather only as an idea and thought, but no longer as flesh and blood, no longer as living beings.

Reality. Professor Lajos Méhely deserves the credit for dispelling this misconception firmly and decisively. As a result of his many-sided experiences and studies, he soon recognized the true Hungarian identity.

Professor Méhely has been working on species biology issues for a long time, and his paper "On the Species Biology of War", written at the beginning of the World War, deservedly attracted a lot of attention and interest. When the great national calamity struck us in 1918, when fate brought us severe hardship and the Hungarian empire was destroyed, Lajos Méhely sought the causes and explanations of this Hungarian tragedy. He examined the question from the perspective of life science and heredity and came to the final conclusion that the lack of racial loyalty, the decline of racial consciousness, the drying up and corruption of Hungarian blood, the diminishing numbers of Hungarians, the senseless and unnatural miscegenation, the proliferation and the predominance of the defective mongrels, the half-breeds of confused blood and confused minds, and the predominance of the half-breeds in all fields, in other words, biological ignorance and ignorance, are the real causes of our national downfall. Our indifference to the race question has been exploited by another race, a race with a hostile instinct and alien interests, which has had race politics ingrained in its blood for thousands of years.

The first step in awakening the Hungarian masses to racial consciousness was to clarify the racial identity of Hungarians. What are the biological, anthropological and spiritual characteristics of the community to which we are bound? It is a simple and natural question: we must know ourselves, we must know what we are. But until now we have not had a clear and definite answer to this question, an answer that modern racial science could accept as correct and valid. Lajos Méhely gives us the answer to this question. It takes into account the results, findings and opinions of domestic and foreign researchers, and it also measures, researches, investigates, observes and uses the results of the auxiliary sciences, ethnography, comparative linguistics and history. On the basis of all this, he concludes that the Hungarian people can be divided into two racial elements, which are closely related to each other through their Mongoloid features. These two elements are the Ugaritic East Baltic and the Turkic Turanian. Their most characteristic features are summarised by Méhely: the Ugorian breed has the following characteristics: stocky and short stature; heavy body. The average height of a man is 163 cm, that of a woman slightly lower. The skull is moderately short, the face is low and broad, the chin is not very pronounced. The lower jaw is heavy, angularly chiselled around the angular processes, the body and the ascending stalk forming almost a right angle, and the face almost square. The nose is short, rather thick, the base flat and broad, the bridge of the nose more or less obtuse, the nose is small and the tip is chunky. Its eyes are not large because they are narrow, and the eyes are light blue-grey or greyish-blue, often so light that they appear white. The inner eye-lines are far apart. The slightly diamond-shaped slit gives the eye a mongoloid expression, but never a mongoloid crease. The hair is stiff, light-coloured, ashy or brownish-blond. The man's beard is lighter than his hair, his moustache even lighter, often almost straw-coloured. His skin is greyish white. The Turanian breed is characterised by a slightly taller and less stocky body than the Ugrian, with olive-brown skin, black eyes and hair, the male with a thickly grown, black moustache and beard, a frequent sasora, a slightly receding chin and, above all, a skull (short but high and more or less sloping towards the occipital region. The eyes sometimes appear to be supplemented by mongol red. It is more often found among the Palóc of undoubted Turkish origin, such as the Hungarian Noszvaj in Borsod.

Méhely sheds light on the role of these two racial elements in our national history in such a way that of the seven tribes of the Hungarian nation that took up residence, the largest Hungarian tribe in terms of population was of the Ugric race. In contrast, the other six tribes belonged to the Turkic-Tatar, Turanian race. The conquest

after the Turanian Turkic ruling class (the Hungarian landowning class), the majority of the Ugrian majority became the peasantry and serfs. The two racial elements were fortunate to complement each other, because the impetus, organizing power, unbridled desire for freedom and fighting spirit of the Turkish chief element, as well as its determination, fervent for ideological goals and recklessly fighting for national glory, raised the nation to the heights of its historical vocation, while the Ugor element ensured the continuity of civil work and the preservation and enrichment of moral and material wealth. Both races maintained their racial purity for a long time and did not fuse with each other, but the Turanian racial element was on the verge of extinction for historical and biological reasons. However, the strength of the Ugrian Hungarians is still intact, and it is from this stratum that the racial renewal of the Hungarians must start. It is this Eastern Baltic-Ugric element that constitutes the present-day Hungarian race. With reference to this, we can say that the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people is also racially pure Hungarian, because it is of Ugric race, i.e. of Hungarian race. The Hungarian blood has its own anthropological race, which must not be denied and belittled, but loved and cherished, and this is our main duty today.

Here, then, is the Hungarian race, the bearer of our history, the guarantee of our national existence, the foundation of our past, present and future. By putting his faith in the Hungarian racial ideal, Méhely is sharply confronting not only the two narrow-minded cultivators of Hungarian anthropology, but also the so-called intellectual history movement, i.e. today's official historiography. In their works, the leading figures of this one-sided historical school express the view that during a turbulent, struggling millennium the racial status of the Hungarian people has become shallow, has dried up, and has perhaps disappeared altogether. In the course of much intermingling of blood, it must have lost its ancient, original racial features. There is no longer a Hungarian race, they proclaimed from this side, lost, vanished in the mists of centuries. One cannot, one must not, use the racial concept in connection with Hungarians. We can only speak of a nation, or at most a race of people, comprising the most diverse races, so of course only people who are ignorant of the world of biology and heredity could speak.

Méhely attacks this trend in a whole series of articles, which ultimately only serves to increase the racial relaxation and the decline of the Hungarian self-consciousness. He condemns in harsh words the derailments and irredeemable errors of intellectual history. With the weapons of science, he seeks to prove the untenability of his claims. If there was a Hungarian race, as indeed there was, according to our hereditary knowledge it cannot disappear, it cannot melt away without a trace into another people or race. The stock of the proteins of the species cannot disappear, the hereditary material is not destroyed.

The racial stock of the Hungarians, though mixed with other races, was by no means as great as some proclaim, and has only since the last century taken larger proportions, though it must have thinned out in the bloody agonies of centuries, yet it must have done so; it is primarily from a higher national moral point of view that Méhely condemns the race-hating ideas and doctrines; even if these heresies were true, everyone should think a hundred times, especially at the time of the most serious Hungarian crisis, the Trianon era, the greatest Hungarian tragedy, and especially when other nations are trying to raise their national forces to the limit in the name of the racial ideal, whether the Hungarian people should be deprived of one of its most sacred ideals, and since these teachings are not true, their propagation and dissemination should be condemned in the sharpest possible terms.

Beekeepers also tried to prove their point with anthropological and serological studies. On the basis of his own and others' blood tests in Hungary, he concluded that the vast majority of Hungarians belonged to blood group III, where the mixing of races was more pronounced, this blood type faded and blood group II came to the fore. Another interesting and important aspect of his research

testimony, that in the mixing of the different racial elements, the Hungarian racial hereditary material has mostly emerged victorious, due to its greater penetrating power. He estimates that at least one-fifth of the population of Hungary is pure-blooded Hungarians of the third blood group, to which we may add the half-blooded Hungarians of the first blood group, who are less than one-third, and those of the second blood group who also contain Hungarian blood, and we may conclude that the overwhelming majority of the population of Hungary is of Hungarian blood and thus of Hungarian race. Although the studies carried out by Méhely in Dudar, Bakonynán in Veszprém County, and Noszvaj in Borsod County, although covering only about 1500 persons in total, were of decisive importance for Hungarian racial research, because for the first time they covered the most detailed anthropological aspects as well as the study of blood groups and their combination.

The meaning of the terms used:
Brachike = short-headed, mesokete = medium-headed, dolike = long-headed.
Euryprosop = broad or low-faced, mesoprosop = medium-faced, leptoprosop = narrow or high-faced.

The results of the Dudari data collection showed that 44.9% of the subjects were short in height, 31.1% medium in stature, 61.7% hypercephalic and 31.6% brachiocephalic in head shape, and the distribution of facial shapes was as follows: 33.7% euryprosopic, 27% mesoprosopic, 17.4% leptoprosopic. 84.9% of the subjects had brown hair, 15.1% had blond hair, 41.6% had brown eyes, 30.3% had mixed eyes, while 26% had blue eyes. Of those tested, 52.9% were blood group A, 12.6% were blood group B, 8.5% were blood group AB, while 26% were blood group 0. The blood index was 2.9. The population of Dudar is predominantly Hungarian, so the number of Hungarians with blood group B is relatively small. The main finding of the Dudar records is that the further west we go, the greater the degree of blood mixing of Hungarians with foreign racial elements. In the course of this blood mixing, the foreigners took on the external anthropological characteristics of the Hungarians, but preserved their blood quality unchanged.

In Bakonynán, which has a predominantly German population, with a total of 58.1% medium, 21.9% small and 18.1% tall, the distribution of skull shapes was as follows: 52.7% hyperbrachical, 41% brachical, 4.8% mesocephalic, 7.6% dolike, the distribution of facial shapes is 29.8% wide, 31.7% medium-wide and 29.8% narrow, 66.3% have brown hair, 20.9% blonde, 39.1% blue, 25.1% mixed, 35.2% brown eye colour. The blood group distribution is as follows: A 40.4%, B 11.7%, AB 4%, 0 35.9%, blood index 3.2%. Here we see a strong inheritance of Hungarian blood.
In many cases, the northern appearance also indicates blood type B.

Broadly similar results were obtained in the Noszvaj study. Here the distribution of cranial shape was as follows: mesocranial 4.74%, brachial 25.5%, hyperbrachial 54.94%, isocranial 14.62%. For the facial forms, the proportions were as follows: hypereuryprosop 15.81%, euryprosop 23.52%, mesoprosop 23.32%, leptoprosop 25.1%, hyperleptoprosop 12.25%. Hair colour 83% brown. 8.1% dark blond, 8.5% blonde and 0.4% black. Eye colour 23.72% brown, 44.07
% are mixed and 32.21 % are blue, in terms of termet size 35.38% are low termet, 54.15% are medium termet and 10.47% are high termet. Finally, the distribution of blood groups was A 43.6% B 18.18%, AB 7.66%, 0 31.1 %. According to Beekeeper, a comparison of the data proves that Noszvnjon is a low-breed with brown hair and eyes, broad face and round head, predominantly of blood group B. This purebred B

belong to the category of the so-called Kun or Turkish Hungarians, later joined by Germanic or Slavic elements immigrated from the north. In Noszvaj it is also common that the blood structure does not overlap with the anthropological picture and that Mongol-looking individuals belong to blood group A. In any case, the studies in Borsod County have also proved the close inner connection between blood and race and that the Hungarian race has not yet disappeared.

The Hungarian race is therefore a living reality. If we did not even know about it, if we did not even care about it, the twelfth hour for action has arrived. The true Hungarianism of which Méhely speaks is the embodiment of Hungarian life, action, will and spirit, and if this is lost, the final hour of Hungarianism will have come. If Professor Méhely had done nothing more than reveal to us the origin, essence, struggling destiny and fate of the Hungarian race, if he had done nothing more than lift the veil from our Hungarian race and, by reminding us, warning us to know, cherish and protect it from all dangers and enemies, he would have obliged the Hungarian people to eternal gratitude towards him. But Lajos Méhely went further, he also showed us the way how we can get very close to the secret of the Hungarian race question, how we can get to know the Hungarian man from the bottom to the top, in other words, he also pointed out the right and expedient way of Hungarian scientific race research. Nor was he satisfied with this, but he did everything in his power to awaken the consciousness of blood in Hungarian society, proclaimed with fiery words of encouragement the inexhaustible need for Hungarian racial awakening and unity, pointed to ourselves and said, "This is how we Hungarians are, with our sins, virtues, weaknesses and abilities, as the Creator has formed us. This is our Hungarian raciality, our most sacred heritage, which we must protect and pass on to the next generation. But we will only be able to do this if we place the idea of race at the heart of our entire national life. If our individual work and the actions and behaviour of our whole national community are guided by this idea. Only this can give strength and impetus to the uplifting of the Hungarian nation, which has fallen to the depths. Only a firm and strong conscience of the nation can give us the strength to solve the many tasks which weigh heavily upon us, such as the consolidation of the Hungarian soul and morals, the preservation and development of Hungarian culture, the promotion of the social, political and material well-being of the Hungarian nation, and the repulsion of its internal and external enemies.

The Jewish question.

When a wave of anti-Semitism swept the country in the wake of the counter-revolution in the early twenties, there was a general belief that the Jews would soon be removed from their positions of power. However, as we know, these hopes did not materialise at the time, and the great enthusiasm and optimism were followed by even greater depression and disillusionment. The reasons for the failure were equally external and internal. European Jewry was at about this time at the height of its political and economic power. Here, on the other hand, although there was a unanimous perception that the Jewish domination was no longer tolerable, everyone knew that the two recent and shameful mob revolts were in fact a racial and national revolution of petty-bourgeois and intellectual Jewry, which was being covered up, but the real aim was to bring the Jews into open power, but no one or very few knew the true essence, racial nature, power and strength of the Jews, and so it was that after the counter-revolutionary forces had waged a ragtag, political guerrilla war, demonstrations, rallies, mass marches form against the well-established economic and intellectual strongholds of Jewry, rather than launching a quieter but more tenacious, planned and purposeful campaign. The political leaders who emerged, only to latch on to anti-Semitic slogans when the wind changed, immediately turned their backs on the agenda that had given them their role. The slogans slowly wore off, and the confusion of ideas and concepts only hastened what seemed an inevitable bankruptcy. Until, finally, Lajos Méhelyos' racialist system of thought became an integral complement to the struggle against Jewry. He takes the question from the unstable and uncertain plane of politics to the quieter, but more certain and solid terrain of science, in order to build a clear and firm foundation for the national struggle for self-defence against Jewry. In his seminal study on the physiological causes of the Hungarian tragedy, he introduces the Hungarian public for the first time to the racial essence of Judaism, and for the first time to the Jewish people as Semitic-Negro-Hamite-Pre-Asiatic inferior mongrel mixture, which, with its racial and blood alienation, has brought destruction on all peoples and countries, unless they purposefully and resolutely defend themselves against the material and spiritual domination of Jewry, as well as against the blood mixture with it.

One of the main reasons for the terrible downfall of the Hungarians, Méhely states in this study, was precisely that they forgot the most elementary commandment of racial existence, tolerated and allowed the unbelievable conquest of Jewry in every sector of national life, and even denied the blood consciousness necessary for racial survival, and their leading strata did not shrink from large-scale intermarriage with the Jews. The critical hours of the world war found in our country masses deprived of their racial consciousness and racially confused classes of discordant half-breed mongrels, heavily burdened and leading, which in moments of hardship were unable to resist the onslaught of foreign forces. Méhely stresses that 'the Jewish question is first and foremost a question of blood and race, and the most important thing is to know the racial essence of Jewry. In this connection, he emphasizes the nervous strain and the well-known disturbances of the Jews, referring to Fishberg's statement that the dull brain of the Jews is disturbed by the slightest excitement. He also immediately asks the question, is there any government official, politician, scientist, or even a man of common sense, who loves his people and his race even a little, who thinks it permissible that the Jews should pour into the Hungarian body of the people their diseased blood, which is loaded with all kinds of diseases? This psychic burden is only one side of the corruption of the Jewish blood, because the Jews are not only carriers of all kinds of diseases, but are also a mixture of inferior races, so that by accepting Jewish blood we expose the Hungarian race to a decomposition of racial proteins which may cause the ruin of our race. In spite of all interbreeding with other races, this inferior Bedouin and negro blood is an inextricable part of the fossilized race of the Jews, which always remains in the offspring in smaller or larger portions, to flare up in full force at the favourable time. And the more distant from the Jews is the other race with which they interbreed, the more easily and the more completely does the ancient Jewish blood break out in the offspring, so that even from this point of view alone Hungarian-Jewish marriages should not be permitted, for although it is not yet possible to determine from the laws of inheritance when the ancient blood components will break out in full force, the mere possibility must be a barrier to prevent intermarriages. From such unnatural mixtures of blood can only result disharmonious mongrels, in which, contrary to the law of nature, two proteins forcibly fused together, or forced into one body only, but in fact hostile, meet. In such cases the proteins of one species are in constant struggle with those of the other. That which is valuable in each species can never develop freely, because the other protein complex diverts it from its natural path of development, so that such a creature remains a mongrel in the true sense of the word, full of with defects and imperfections. Such individuals, usually also physically oppressed, lack the elevated inner outlook and spiritual equilibrium of the pure race of man, because, feeling their physical imperfection to be a terrible injustice, they seek in their helpless rage to take revenge on others, on the world around them... I consider it necessary to prevent by all means that even a single drop of Jewish blood should seep into the body of the Hungarian people, because only Jews are born of Hungarian-Jewish marriages. If we do not want to become permanently Jewishised, we must at least completely exclude Jews from all blood communities. This is our most important task at the moment! writes Beehive as early as 1922.

In Méhely's formulation, the Jewish question is transformed into a problem of racial biology, in accordance with reality. There was undoubtedly a great danger in the fact that in the space of a few decades the Jews had succeeded in conquering the top positions, the very first vanguard of the entire Hungarian economic and intellectual life, but a much greater danger lay in the fact that the converted and devout Jews were becoming mixed up in ever greater numbers with the Hungarian middle and upper classes. A racially intact and united pure Hungary could certainly regain its economic cultural independence and freedom from Jewry at a given moment, but a racially divided and blood-contaminated Hungary would lack the inner force necessary to fight such a liberating struggle. As long as Jews of the whole race occupy the leading positions in the enterprises of big industry, commerce, banking and credit, the press and the theatre, there is always hope. that, under favourable conditions, the Hungarian nation will free itself from foreign domination, but if half-blood and quarter-blood Jews occupy these places, that is to say, Jews who carry in their blood the Jewish attitude, the Jewish spirit and the Jewish racial heritage, and who, on the other hand, according to the existing legal and social forms, are no longer Jews, then there is a danger that behind the apparent Hungarian superiority the will, spirit and instinct of Israel will ultimately prevail. That is why Méhely advocated complete racial and blood separation from the Jews, because without it our struggle against Jewry cannot succeed. It is only now, in the wake of his lectures and articles, that the Hungarian public has realised that this is not a political battlefield, not a simple struggle for position, but a life-and-death struggle, a hard, merciless, knife-edge struggle between two alien races, in which one or the other must inevitably be defeated.

The Jews, of course, immediately recognized in Beecher their most formidable opponent. It knew that it would be attacked from its most vulnerable side. In his usual fighting style, he used the weapons of ridicule, belittlement and slander to silence his opponent. In response, Méhely added new and new aspects to the racialist position he had taken in the face of Jewry. He contrasts the spiritual character of Jewry and Hungarianism. 'The Jew, in his mediating activity, is skilful, agile, excellently informed, resourceful and versatile, but his excited and flighty imagination makes him incapable of deeper immersion, so that his being, always clinging to appearances, always chasing and scrambling for momentary success, cannot rise above practical considerations; the Jew is not an analytical but a synthetic mind, but is never interested in the inner essence of the object, but always in its goal. Whether an object, a phenomenon or an idea is beautiful, noble, sublime, or ugly, vile or abominable, is a matter of no interest to the Jew, because he always asks only one question: what is it for and how can it be used? It is this cold, often harsh, even cruel rationalism that makes the Jew see everything as business. He knows no more urgent and serious purpose in life and sacrifices everything for it. In contrast, the Hungarian spirit is less complicated, simpler, more vigorous, healthier, truer and more instinctive. The Hungarian is more devoted, more profound, more enthusiastic in any occupation and more scrupulous than the Jew, because he weighs the demands of life more seriously and feels all his duties more keenly. It is obvious that, with such a sharp contrast between the Hungarian and the Jewish spirit, it is simply impossible for these two races to follow common ideals. It is impossible for the Hungarian to share the Jewish aspirations, and equally impossible for the Jew to feel what the Hungarian is passionate about.

Méhely, from his clear, firm, scientifically founded position, easily and with a sure victory refuted all those pseudo-scientific liberal theories (Illés Pollák, Béla Vikár) which were spreading about the racial kinship of Jews and Hungarians, about the Khazar-Ukrainian origin of Hungarian Jews. And he always responds to Jewish attacks on him with the utmost coolness and objectivity. In the face of hatred, he appeals to reason and warns the Jews that it is in their own interest to put their relations with Hungarians on an honest and healthy footing, the first step towards which is the urgent elimination of the present, distinctly parasitic way of life of the Jews. In the meantime, his attention is always focused on the biological fate of the Hungarian people. Ten years ago, in a shocking article, he reveals the gentrification of the Hungarian villagers, who were vulnerable to Jewish lust.
"The Jewish tavern-keepers in the villages get rich under the protection of the authorities, acquire houses, land, keep carriages and horses, and the whole village toils for them, who, taking advantage of the misery of the people, smear their Semitic, negro blood in abundance on the village pariahs. The poor Hungarian people, because of the inadequacy of our penal laws in this direction, are helpless prey to the power of the animal lust and money of the Jews.
For the Jew can never be other than what he is, and if he defiles a Hungarian woman, according to the rules of his religion, he has not sinned, and has done an act pleasing to God, for the most famous rabbis, including Maimonides, the eagle, "the great Sasha of the synagogue", teach in the Talmud that "the wife of the infidel may be used". "In the face of such moral and religious principles, we can at least wonder that the Jew regards the Gentile woman as a mere commodity for the fair, like rabbit skins or rags. We cannot wonder that the owners of brothels, and the procurers and dealers in broads all over the world, are Jews, who sell thousands of girls every year, mostly to the brothels of South America."

While it is true that the father of illegitimate newborns is not always Jewish, there is a big difference between a Jewish father and a gentile father. For the latter most often marries the mother of his child, or provides for its support, but the Jew in the most inhuman manner drives away the unhappy creature, who in shame either kills himself or falls into the hands of kufar quacks, and if he does not perish at once, remains a cripple for life by artificial abortion. This is how many thousands of Hungarian girls and women perish every year, and even the most valuable elements of the preservation of the species, because it goes without saying that it is the most beautiful and healthiest, and therefore the most winning, women who are the most victimized. But not all seductions have such tragic results. In very many cases, the Hungarian woman gives birth to a Jewish child and often receives a suitable alimony from the Jew, but there is no thanks here either, because the illegitimate child, which is a Jewish child under all circumstances, is usually sent to the village, to the mother's parents or grandparents, where it grows up and then marries one of the village nobles, and thus the Jewish blood spreads in and around the village.

Méhely takes a negative stance against the two Jewish laws, because they do not contain any positive solution to the most important, most fundamental issues, i.e. neither on the racial separation of Hungarians and Jews, nor on the further Hungarian

Jewish bloodshed is not prevented. It cannot be disputed that the correct regulation of coexistence with the Jews is still possible only on the basis of the principles established by the Mézel.

Fight for the realisation of Hungarian species protection!

However, Méhely not only proclaims ideas, sets out principles, not only encourages, teaches and creates a specific system of ideas, but also searches for ways and means to make ideas real, to put them into practice. Beeke knows that principles have only as much value as they guide and direct the thinking of their time. Ideals and reality must be in harmony. Institutions, organisations, laws and regulations are needed to give effect to the race agenda. To achieve this goal, two paths must be followed: one is the path of quiet, contemplative, scientific research; the other is the path of mass organization, in the spirit of new ideas, the path of politics to achieve power. On both paths, Méhely takes important proactive steps. In keeping with his individuality, he is primarily concerned with organising scientific research for the protection of racial diversity. The cultural policy of liberal Hungary and its organic continuation, the liberal consolidationist system, has been the most rigid in its refusal to embrace disciplines in the service of race research. At the same time, Western European cultures have a decades-long academic tradition, with university departments, institutes and a significant literature serving the cause of race studies everywhere.

The most urgent priority for Méhely is the establishment of an Institute of Species Biology. In a series of lectures and articles, he demonstrates the vital importance of organizing such an institute for science and for the Hungarian nation as a whole.
A new era is unfolding, saturating national societies with new feelings and new ideals, writes Méhely as early as 1927. Throughout Europe, in both victorious and vanquished states, a great movement is sweeping through the souls of all peoples, which recognizes the cultivation of racial feeling, the strengthening of racial consciousness, as its most sacred duty. We would be fools if we did not understand the voice of the times and did not strive to strengthen the pillars of our national existence, and instead surrender to the forces of nature with a spirit of slackness.
I have the faith that we are not yet so depraved and that we still feel the great truth of nature, that we are the kind of sanctity to which we must raise an altar in our hearts. However, the altar is not enough; you must also be able to sacrifice on it, not only enthusiastically but also wisely.

Above all, we must sacrifice ourselves to know our race at last, and to know to what extent the alien blood elements we have received have been to our advantage or disadvantage, for it is certainly easier to prevent trouble than to repair the damage once done, when it is often followed by helpless whining and despair. Méhely, referring to Professor Lundborg of Sweden and his exemplary institute, offers us an example to follow. In his description of the Swedish Institute of Species Biology, Lundborg points out that the task of species biology is to defend peoples against their internal enemies, who are seeking to destroy them. Méhely intends to set up four departments within the Hungarian Institute of Race Biology: firstly, a department of ethnohistory and medical demography; secondly, an anthropology department, which will include criminal biology in its research; thirdly, an experimental biology and an experimental pathology department; and, finally, a museum of heredity.
On his proposal, the Faculty of Humanities of Péter Pázmány University decided to set up the Institute of Phylogenetics in June 1923, but the University Council did not consider it

feasible nor timely and the issue was removed from the agenda. But it was not only the university council that lacked understanding for Méhely's proposal, the entire official so-called Hungarian cultural policy also showed a complete lack of sensitivity. When countless millions were being spent on useless and unnecessary institutions, not a single penny was being spent on Hungarian racial research. Count Kunó Klebelsberg, the all-powerful director of Hungarian education, could not be won over to the cause of racial research. The minister considered fish biology far more important than species biology. It is no wonder that Beekeeper fought the hardest with this cultural policy and its leaders.

In the face of the new political and cultural idea called neo-nationalism, he has been adamant in pointing out its rootlessness and powerlessness. The only correct understanding of nationalism, according to Méhely, is national unity based on blood ties. Our politicians, however, did not understand this idea and therefore did nothing to strengthen and uplift the abandoned, despondent and tired Hungarians. "Hungarians are everywhere and in everything relegated to the background, and all their efforts are futile and pointless, because they are not understood anywhere. The Hungarian land has long been feeding foreigners, genocidal swarms are pouring in through the unguarded gates of our frontiers, and millions of our blood are fighting the agony of the struggle for existence, separated from their homeland, in foreign lands. But those in power do not see it. They do not even notice that in the Hungarian homeland the foreigner is already the master. But even in our great poverty, Crusader desires still rage within us, and nightmares and glittering mirages obscure our clear vision. It is because of such illusions that we waste billions on institutions that we do not need. All the while we fail to see the decaying shacks and the physical and moral decay of the feverish human material of the Hungarian people. This is neo-nationalism.

But all references to the new European spirit, to the new ideals filling the souls of the peoples, to the feverish research work which is being carried on in the field of race all over the world, to the racial disintegration and decay of the Hungarian race, to the degeneration of our people, to the shameful failures of Hungarian science, were in vain; no one understood, no one listened to these complaints and warnings. While we were walking the paths of "European" cultural supremacy, the most racially valuable layer of Hungarians was atrophying and falling away. While we were building the costly air castles of this cultural domination with a zeal worthy of a better cause, millions of Hungarians were living at such a low standard of living that not even the most elementary degree of cultural interest could develop among them.

It was in vain that Lajos Méhely imagined and designed the citadel of Hungarian scientific species protection, the Hungarian Institute of Species Biology, where an army of experts investigates, researches and explores the hitherto unknown racial essence, biological constitution and condition, the ways, means and laws of racial strengthening of the Hungarian people. This institution has not yet been established in the most modest framework, to the immeasurable detriment of the cause of Hungarian racial protection. Indifference and ignorance have so far banished from Hungarian scientific life the most modern and most important disciplines of today: race health, race life and man.

Although the development of the scientific theory of species protection itself was a major task for Beekeeper, and he continued the work of his world-renowned and acclaimed zoologists, he also found time and opportunity to play his part in the creation and management of the Party for the Protection of Species. The new party was committed to preserving the political and intellectual legacy of the counter-revolution. It included those sections of the intelligentsia who were not prepared to accept the resurrection of liberalism, i.e. the resumption of everything as it had left off in 1918, the continuation of the domination of the Jews, the social and political repression of millions of racial Hungarians, and the repression of the Jews.

the poverty, the unsustainable imbalances in land distribution. Around the Racialist Party were concentrated the masses of the colour Hungarian peasant and landowning classes who, rising above their own narrow class boundaries, could rise to the ideals of racial unity and community. For years the Race Party was the only principled opposition to the ruling liberal system of government. Its struggles in the legislature, against the sanctioning of the People's League loan and the tutelage that went with it, against the abolition of numerus clausus, against corruption and protectionism, are memorable chapters in the history of Hungarian parliamentarianism. In fact, there was a much greater mass force behind the Party for the Protection of the Race and the ideas it represented than the number of its members in parliament would suggest. However, the electoral technique and voting machine of the pseudo-Christian liberal political system allied with Judaism ruthlessly exterminated the racist candidates. In much the same way, and perhaps even more thoroughly, as Kálmán Tisza's anti-Semitic party did to Istóczy's candidates in the 1980s. The Party for the Protection of Racial Rights and its press, as long as Szózat, A Nép and Magyar Újság existed, waged a courageous and determined struggle against the liberal, capitalist, feudal system in power, keeping alive the continuity and legitimacy of the counter-revolutionary programme.

While Méhely played little part in the day-to-day political activities of the party, he was almost exclusively responsible for the development of its scientific ideology. It was he who first formulated the principles of racial protection on the basis of which the party programme was born. He made the concept of the Hungarian breed a tangible reality, drew attention to the importance of the idea of the breed, the need to organise the community of breeds and to cultivate loyalty to the breed, and introduced us to the means and procedures of purposeful and effective breed protection. His lectures and studies have given scientific content and objectives to the efforts of the Party for the Protection of Species. Alongside Marxist social democracy, this party was the only one at that time to have a clear and definite ideological basis. In Méhely's interpretation, the Party for the Protection of the Species was the depository of the Hungarian struggle for racial freedom, the bearer of a difficult but lofty mission. It wanted to turn the truths of science into the truths governing the life of Hungarians, and for this reason it became involved in daily politics, which was otherwise quite distant from its own. The influence of his teachings could be felt not only in the party's programme, but also in its entire political phraseology and spirit. But he also took part in the daily work of the party. Day after day we see him here and there in one part of the country or another on the platform, imparting the profound lessons of the science of the race to his eager listeners.

All that hard work and effort does not seem to have yielded the hoped-for results. The Party for the Defence of the Race was slowly crumbling in the oppressive, difficult struggle which it had to fight for many years, almost single-handedly, against the liberal governmental power and Jewish big capitalism. In an open letter to Gyula Gömbös, Méhely initially disapproved of the dissolution of the Party in 1928, mainly because, in his opinion, the government was completely indifferent and insensitive to the vital interests of the Hungarian people. "We cannot claim that it is consciously acting against the interests of the Hungarian people, but we deeply regret that it does not understand the rhythm of the Hungarian heartbeat, does not care about the vital needs of the Hungarian people, and does not take up the cause of its ethnicity, its historical merits and its political weight. Our government is always shrouded in the worn cloak of cool objectivity and humanism and liberalism in the face of the vital needs of the Hungarian people, but it is all the more understanding and accommodating towards other races. And this, if it continues, will inevitably lead to a fatal collapse of the Hungarian race, because, being pushed into the background along the whole line, it will not be able to develop its vital energy in relation to the favoured races, and will finally sink into a deadly nostalgia, completely enervated.

Later, after an exchange of ideas with Gyula Gömbös, Méhely also thought it more appropriate to spread racialist ideas in the intellectual and social sphere. Gyula Gömbös, the leader of the Party for the Protection of Racial Minorities and its political leader, more than once expressed his gratitude to Méhely. In a letter dated 14 December 1925, Gömbös wrote, among other things, the following: 'I hereby express my deep respect and sincere love for you on behalf of myself and my entire party, asking the Almighty to give you strength and perseverance in the apostolic work which you are fighting for in the field of exact racial protection'.

Even if the political framework in which Beehive was proclaiming his new ideas and truths has disappeared, the ideas he had been proclaiming here and there for two decades have not ceased to have an impact. Today, the immemorial ideas of racial protection permeate the soul of the better part of the Hungarian nation and have become its deep convictions and guiding principles. And if in Hungarian public life there is more and more talk about racial protection and at least a part of the Hungarian public understands the laws of racialism and their decisive importance for the life of the Hungarian people, then Lajos Méhely has certainly the greatest merit in this.

At the beginning of the 1930s, when Jewry felt itself quite secure in Hungary, when it considered its position of power unshakable, and all opposing voices and criticisms had been silenced, and a thick, stifling silence had fallen over the neo-nationalist, culture-dominating, neo-liberal Hungarian world, only Lajos Méhely and The Goal were practically the only ones who held out with unchanged loyalty and unbreakable will for counter-revolutionary principles and truths. When everyone has changed their opinion for reasons of interest or conviction, when Méhely, as if the world had changed nothing in ten years (the leading personalities of Hungarian public life are ringing for the favours and shoulder-slapping condescension of the Jewish press and big capitalism), far from the noise of this world of strange morality and honour, diving and contemplating in the soul-quenching silence of the sanctuary of science, speaks out for the rights of the Hungarian people with unchanged courage. He is unaffected by the slanderous attacks of the Jewish press. Nor is he discouraged by the fact, now forgotten by many, that ten years ago Lajos Méhely had to stand before the judges of the Schadl Council, accused of incitement against a religious sect, because he had written an article about the parasitism of the Jews, their exploitative activities and their desire for domination, with his usual frankness and honesty. Ten years after the counter-revolution and ten years before the Third Jewish Law was passed, he was sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment, courtesy of the Csemegi-Nasch penal code.

In addition to promoting the idea of race and the results of breed science, Méhely comes to the public with powerful proposals for the positive protection of the race, for the rescue and repair of the dwindling Hungarian blood, almost a decade and a half ago. According to his blood theory, pure Hungarians are characterized by blood type III or B. The eclipse of this blood group, its dwindling, means the decline of the Hungarian blood and with it the decline of the dominant role of the Hungarian race. One of the most important tasks of the Hungarian race protection is to stop this process, partly by awakening the blood consciousness and partly by preventing the unnatural, harmful mixing of blood. He and Günther Méhely affirm that "man's whole being is crystallised in his blood heritage, and this heritage is the most striking feature of his character". For a long time, blood was thought to be a symbol of raciality, but we now know that it is a carrier of biological characteristics. The progress made in the field of blood group research and the experience gained in transfusions are of great importance, not only for the individual, but also for the nation, and not only for medicine, but also for population and race policy. He expresses the opinion that in the assessment of miscegenation it is very important to take into account the behaviour of blood groups in relation to each other.

taking into account. Based on his experience in the field of medicine and his own observations, he comes to the final conclusion that a physiologically correct, healthy marriage can only be achieved between spouses of the same blood group. But physiologically permissible are even marriages where

the man	the woman
2	1
3	1
4	1,2,3

blood type. If compulsory pre-marital medical examination and counselling included blood group testing, many tragedies, tears and pain, much suffering could be avoided. There would be far fewer crippled lives, burdened lives, mongrels, blood disorders and physically and psychologically suffering offspring. Beekeeper was well aware of the difficulties which the regulation of marriage on the basis of blood groups presented, but he believed that, in the higher national interest as well as in his own well-understood individual interest, the sacrifice which in the end meant only the renunciation of an unhappy marriage could and should be made by all. It was only in connection with Méhely's proposals that it became apparent how ignorant the Hungarian public is about biological and inheritance issues. How insensitive they are to matters that ultimately decide the fate, happiness or misfortune of the nation and the individual. It is only now that the serious failings of our school policy have really become apparent, when it has completely ignored biological, hereditary and racial health knowledge from the lowest to the highest levels in our schools.

Our society is completely incapable of thinking biologically. It is typical that even many who have spoken out in favour of pre-marital medical testing have shown a complete lack of interest in the issue of blood testing.

In several of his studies, Méhely repeatedly argues for a close intrinsic link between race and blood structure. In most cases, under normal circumstances, one can infer one from the other. The racial image is usually the carrier of a certain blood type and vice versa. Blood structure is an essential factor in raciality. The ultimate relationship between raciality and blood type is not known in all its details, but everyday experience proves the connection. When blood-matched and opposite individuals marry, there can often be a blood-type conflict between mother and child. If the racial strength of the Hungarian nation is to be restored, we must ensure by all means that only racially and blood-matched individuals can marry

marriage. Speciation can only be discussed in the context of a single species. Only disharmonious mongrels can be created between distant, opposing species as a result of admixture. We must be aware that every act of living beings is a racial act, that they serve the interests of their species with every beat of their hearts, and that their most sacred ideals are manifested in racial genius.
The impact of the laws of life, the driving forces of nature, on man and human society. Already during the World War, Beekeeper had been studying it with the interest of the initiated researcher.

In his aforementioned study on the biology of war, he puts the Great War in a natural scientific light, far from the political and diplomatic wrangling. The gigantic struggle of the world powers is only one phenomenon of the struggle for existence, he writes in his study, which was received with great enthusiasm by radicals and Marxists alike, in a form that is unusual and shocking in its proportions, but in its final essence no different. He refutes with forceful argumentation the Malthusian and Marxist reasoning that the cause of the great catastrophe is exclusively overpopulation and war, that the struggle for existence can be eliminated from human society ... He sharply opposes the Babylonian notion that home is an abstract concept, that home is a piece of the human self, which to part with is to part with one's own being... War is inevitable and, despite its devastation, it is a stimulant of great material and moral values. This study by Méhely was in fact a courageous counter to the Marxist defeatist propaganda which had already become deeply embedded in the thought of Hungarian society at the beginning of the war. The international doctrines of the Galilean Freemason were a counterpoint to the unity, interconnection and interdependence of the homeland and the species nature. When the hours of national humiliation came after the World War, it was again Méhely who recognised the deeper causes and meaning of the decline and fall in the drying up of Hungarian blood and its corruption through miscegenation. In the early twenties, he began his great career as a public writer, whose main aim was to promote the knowledge of race. He promotes new ideas, and this is a difficult and exhausting task.

Méhely has written nearly one and a half hundred articles and studies in Népben and A Célban, in which he reveals the causes and consequences of our racial disintegration to Hungarian society, and encourages unity and action. At this time, the sole diver of the science of Hungarian racial studies had to take on the task of addressing the masses in addition to the long and tedious scientific work. His articles appeal to the intellect and the emotions in equal measure, and his writings are masterpieces of both form and content. They are the most precious pieces of the poor literature of the Hungarian race question. Life pulsates in every line and noble passion speaks to us. These writings are characterised by conciseness, tasteful Hungarianism, clarity and thoroughness. In them, the outlines of a new world unfold. Méhely is our first proponent of the ideology of natural science, biology, race, bloodline, as the only firm and sure foundation of national existence and national life. This ideology, which will dominate the future intellectual life of Europe, is rooted in Hungarian racialism and Hungarian spirituality. It is from Méhely that the Hungarian public learns that racialism is a force that shapes history and the destiny of the nation, that the struggle for existence has a decisive influence not only on the lives of individuals but also on the lives of races, that the consciousness of race, the consciousness of blood, is the supreme force that sustains the nation, and that the most basic condition for a healthy and flourishing national life is to ensure the reproduction of valuable human material of pure race.

In 1927 Méhely took over the editorship of The Goal. From this time onwards, the magazine became a specifically racially protective journal. In the opening article he calls Hungarian society to the forefront of the intellectual struggle for the protection of Hungarian races. From then on, in thick succession

his writings were published, all of them inspired by the idea of saving and uplifting the oppressed and subordinated Hungarians. With these aspirations, Cél stood almost alone in Hungarian intellectual life, and Méhely and his colleagues were incessantly pressing for the urgent solution of our most urgent and neglected internal problems: the Jewish question, the land question, the reform of education and the positive protection of the race. Beehl himself is mainly calling for the organisation of biological racial protection in the strict sense. The resurrection of the blood consciousness of Hungarians is hindered by the senseless and confused mixing of races, especially with the Jews. This has reached such a level that we are talking about the complete gentrification of the Hungarian ruling classes. In most cases, the Jewish Hungarian half-breeds inherit only the bad qualities of the two races, and therefore, from an anthropological as well as a social and moral point of view, such mixing is most reprehensible. It is therefore above all in the confusion of miscegenation that Méhely seeks to bring order according to the guidelines of biology. That is why he sets up his marriage rules for blood groups. It is also why he seeks to clarify the question of whether interbreeding is possible between Hungarians and coexisting races. On the basis of the anthropological and biological knowledge and experience available to us, he expresses the opinion that the interbreeding of the Turkish and Ugric Hungarians, because they are descended from the same root, short-headed Mongoloids, will produce a harmonious generation that is psychologically well balanced, even while retaining the Turkish exterior.

The same applies to the mixing of Turkish Hungarians with Alpine breeds. In this context, it is worth mentioning that a significant part of our population of urban German origin is of Alpine origin. Although the blood structure is not identical between the two groups, the anthropological affinity balances this contrast. From an ethnobiological point of view, this mixing is therefore not objectionable. The blood mixing between the Ugric Hungarians and the Alpine Hungarians is definitely advantageous. On the other hand, however, the contrast between the two Hungarian racial elements and the Nordic race is so great, both anthropologically and serologically, that there can be no question of harmonious interbreeding between them. However, only a small number of northern species are found among the Germans. The physiology of interbreeding with the Dinaric race is still rather unclear; it is probable that interbreeding with the Turkish Hungarians is advantageous, but the same cannot be said of interbreeding with the Ugric Hungarians. Mixing with the Mediterranean race, which in our country is mainly the Olachs, cannot be said to be harmonious at all, because of the contrast in anthropological traits and blood structures.

Some have sought to diminish Méhely's position against unrestricted and unhindered intermarriage by claiming that he excluded the great mass of not-quite-blooded Hungarians from the ethnic unity of the Hungarian nation. However, a closer examination of the marriage rules and the theory of intermarriage of Méhely will convince everyone that there is no such thing, and that biological considerations do not require it. We have seen that most of the ethnic groups living together with the Hungarians have more or less anthropological kinship ties with the Hungarians, so that marriage is not ideal, but not harmful or disadvantageous, and the result of intermarriage is harmonious mongrels or half-bloods who, through further marriages, may possibly be fully integrated into the Hungarian blood community. But it is absolutely necessary to prevent, for the reasons already repeatedly stated, any intermarriage of blood with the Jews, for this would inevitably lead to our racial degradation, to the assertion of the overwhelming Negro-Semitic racial heritage of the Jews. According to Méhely, the first step towards preserving the racial character and strength of Hungarians, their ancestral identity, would therefore be to regulate marriage and intermarriage according to physiological and anthropological criteria. However strange this may sound at first sight, when we consider that the Hungarians in the centre of Europe are subjected to the most antagonistic and alien racial forces and

is under pressure, there can be no doubt about the correctness of Méhely's theses. Of course, Méhely also knows that this is only the first step towards a purposeful Hungarian species conservation, which must be followed by a whole series of biological, social, economic and societal measures. For a quantitative and qualitative population policy, we must use all the instruments of species health, we must ensure that the natural selection wisely established by nature is not disturbed, and we must not artificially maintain the reproduction of the hereditarily burdened out of pseudo-humanism, but on the contrary, we must strive to exclude them from further reproduction once and for all. The true racial strengthening of the Hungarian nation will only come about if the whole series of laws are organically interconnected to serve this purpose. Thus, the possibility of early marriage, the shortening of schooling, the withdrawal of women from careers requiring male strength, marriage assistance for the poor, effective help for families with many children, and the introduction of the bachelor tax must be ensured by law, the proportionalisation of the remuneration of unmarried and family workers, the granting of land to the farming population, the abolition of mammoth estates and mammoth incomes, the regularisation of village health, the abolition of the unjustified share of profits of the intermediary trade, the abolition of celibacy, etc. In addition to all this, our school system needs a radical overhaul, especially in the sense of providing our society with an adequate biological education. If we do so, says the Mhely, in a few generations the Carpathian wreath will be woven around a united nation, purified in its race, strengthened in its organisation, receptive to all that is noble, of solid character and true to its race.

Hungarian worldview.

In one of his essays, Lajos Méhely writes that the nation lives in its race, contrasting this with the well-known, often quoted slogan that the nation lives in its language. And indeed, these few words express Méhely's ideology of race protection most succinctly and clearly.

With all his strength he tries to convince the Hungarian people that loyalty to race, love of race and racial consciousness are the main and only saving forces of every nation. Whichever nation forgets these, will sooner or later fall into the arms of nature. It was only Méhely who drew the real lessons from the events of 1918 and 1919, who concluded that the Hungarian people had lost the clear and correct political and social sense of direction and the power of resistance that was nourished by a healthy sense of race. Its whole political and ideological outlook is wrong and flawed, partly because it has been subjected for decades to an alien disruptive racial influence, and partly because it has turned its back on the natural laws governing the life of racial communities. Méhely does not utter slogans, nor does he give a programme, but seeks to transform the whole world of ideas and ways of thinking in Hungarian society. He wants to habituate the public to biological thinking, because only the knowledge and observance of the laws of racial life can restore our national greatness. He opposes the liberal political and social outlook that has led to destruction and decay with his own Hungarian world view, in order to infuse the Hungarians of Trianon with new spirit and faith. He presents us with a new way of life, new ideals. Other peoples only much later embarked on the path that Méhely had set out for us twenty years before. He looks at everything from the racial principle, and that is why his views on all questions are in wonderful unity and harmony.

The first requirement of the racial renewal of the Hungarians is pure morality, the bearers of which are not the unselected masses, but the vital and noble layers of character, saturated with racial ideals and bred in harmony with the life-needs of the nation, in whom lives the ideal of sacrifice, the a fire of enthusiasm.

A more Hungarian Hungary is the second requirement. It is an intolerable and humiliating state of affairs when Hungarians play a subordinate role in the material, economic and spiritual life of the country. Without a national property policy, there is no hope for the racial empowerment of Hungarians. The barren large estates, the sea of Kalas, but empty of people, must be used for settlement purposes. It is the most urgent task of our national education to ensure that our youth are introduced to the question of race and to the knowledge of race health. Woman must be returned to her natural vocation. The greatest weakness of woman today is that she does not want to be a mother, and does not think that the greatest nation will perish if the birthrate is too low.

Perhaps never before have the ideas and teachings of Beeke been as relevant as they are today. Today, the peoples of Europe are rebuilding their inner lives in the spirit of the racial ideal. We can do no less. We too must take our place in the noble contest of racial forces that is now beginning, but we will only be able to do so if we finally break with the liberal political, intellectual and social legacy that still weighs down on us and build the future of Hungarians in accordance with new ideas and new principles. It is up to us alone whether we will finally understand the words of the times and learn and absorb into our souls the words which Lajos Méhely has been proclaiming for twenty years, and which are undoubtedly the only ones capable of restoring the Hungarian nation's ancient racial strength, restoring its racial unity and thus leading our nation towards ascension.

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1937 March-April. The life-science requisites of species maintenance. May. The secret of
Jewish success. March 1933. The flaws of the Jewish proposal. April. On the premarital
medical examination. November. Race or community of destiny. March 1939. The new
Jewish law and the law of life.
June. The soul of the species. July. The anthropology of the Hungarians in Noszva.
September. The unity of body and soul.
November. Confessions. December. The fad of breed-breeding. March 1940. Hungary
without a Hungarian. April.
See also János Gáspár: Lajos Méhely and scientific species protection in Hungary.

About Zoltán Bosnyák

THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL SELF-DEFENCE
The life and works of Zoltán Bosnyák

His life 1))
Zoltán Bosnyák was born on 2 January 1905 in Budapest. His father was Pál Bosnyák, a maid. His mother was Anna Burcseh. After graduating as a teacher in 1927. Between 1927-1928 he taught at the folk school in Tápiószel. From 1931 he taught his students to love geography, natural history and agriculture in the civil boys' schools in the capital, in the ones in President, Master and Váli Street.

Already in the early 1930s, he appeared with his articles on national defence in the journal of the anthropologist and scientist Professor Lajos Méhely, "A Cél". He had already given several lectures on the principles of Hungarian racial protection in the Hungarian Cultural League, the Hungarian National Defence Association and the Turul Association. From the mid-1930s onwards, his studies on the situation of the Jews in Hungary appeared regularly. Between 1935 and 1944 he published a total of 6 books, 13 studies and a translation (Fest Herman. Bolshevism and Herman Herman's Bolshevism. Mezőberény. 1936.) .

Zoltán Bosnyák: THE TRAVELLERS OF HUNGARIAN FAJVÉDELEM

In the early forties, he took over the editorship of "The Goal" from Lajos Méhelyos. With his statistical and political studies and book reviews, this journal aimed to create Hungarian anthropological literature. To this end, he worked together with colleagues such as László Endre Vitéz and Mihály Borcsa Vitéz Kolosváry. László Levatich Nagykálnai, Albert Takáts. In May 1942, he and László Endre Vitéz planned to set up a scientific research institute, [2]) which aimed to settle the Jewish question by intellectual and political means. At the county hall in Gödöllő. With the help of László Endre Vitéz, the institute was established, which attracted the attention of the press with its rich library and the lectures of its staff, who were exclusively members of the Hungarian right-wing intelligentsia.

In May 1944, the work of the research team became official. On 12 May 1944, the Hungarian Institute for the Study of Jewish Issues was founded at 4 Vörösmarty Square in Budapest. According to the Institute's Rules of Procedure, adopted by the Minister of the Interior on 15 April, its aim is "the systematic, scientific study of the Jewish question in Hungary, the collection and scientific processing of relevant data, and the informing of the Hungarian public about the Jewish question in Hungary and the Jewish question in general".

The founding members of the institute were Zoltán Bosnyák, Ákos Doroghi Farkas, László Endre Vitéz, Mihály Borcsa Vitéz Kolosváry, Géza Lator, Ferenc Réthy Haszlinger, Lajos Zimmermann. Zoltán Bosnyák was appointed President of the Institute. His newspaper, "Harc", published eight pages a week until the end of 1944, with news of the Institute, and announcements demonstrating the economic, press and political rise of Hungarian Jewry. The Institute's press office, reception room and exhibition space were on Vörösmarty Square, its library in a villa in Buda. It also published independent works, the most valuable of which are books by Houston Stewart Chamberlain [4] and Albert Takáts [5]). Zoltán Bosnyák, as head of the institute, regularly gave quarter-hour radio lectures on the history of the Jewish question from October 1944. His last book, "Fighting the Jewish Danger!" was published at the same time, but the material for his radio series could not be printed due to the siege of Budapest.

Also in 1944 he was the main initiator of the establishment of the Budapest Jewish Council. Among the Jewish representatives of the Council, he had an undoubtedly intimate relationship with Béla Berend, the rabbi of Inselvár. They both agreed that since the Babylonian dispersion, the Jews had been unable to integrate with the rest of the world's peoples because their racial law, the Talmud, prevented it. Béla Berend, as a Zionist, supported Zoltán Bosnyák's position on the future of Judaism, which was in line with the Hungarist and National Socialist worldview: [6] Jews must seek a homeland outside Europe. In the columns of "Harc" he made an anonymous statement about the invalidity of these digressions. [7]) (Because of this article and his collaboration with Zoltán Bosnyák, he was also tried by the Jewish Communists after 1945 and later acquitted.)

Based on our current knowledge, we can trace the life of Zoltán Bosnyák back to the siege of Budapest. After 1945, the communist and Jewish organisations did everything to ensure that no one knew who Zoltán Bosnyák was. What we do know for sure is that he was executed. But what happened to him before his execution? [8])

In December 1944 he fled to the West with his family. Head of the American Allied Control Commission. According to General Kay, he was detained by US soldiers in June 1946
1. [9] From Germany, according to some sources, he went to Transylvania, where he stayed for five years in Hosszúfalu, near Brasov, where his wife. Ilona Partin's relatives lived

there. Letters from there

wrote to his Hungarian friends in exile about the plight of Hungarians in Transylvania. The Romanian police opened his letters and interned him in a penal camp in the Havasalföld region, where someone recognised him from a photograph published in the 1944 Harc. He was then brought to Budapest as a "war criminal in hiding", who was "internationally wanted". [10]) He was executed in Budapest on 4 October 1952. The death certificate does not reveal anything about the circumstances of death. According to the death certificate, the place of death is the Kőbánya Collective Hospital (Kozma u. 13.).

Ferenc Fiala and Lajos Marschalkó provide an interesting account of his last days:

"The fate of those who were left at the mercy of Márton Himler was similar to that of those who stayed at home and were liquidated by the new power's obsessives, bypassing the public. Those who could not be tried under any law were 'quietly' executed. Such was the fate of Zoltán Bosnyák, whose only crime was to deal with the Jewish problem in Hungary in academic journals and books, just as sociologists and social historians do in every part of the world. But Zoltán Bosnyák, this gentle-looking civil school teacher, committed this 'crime' in the Hungary where, back in 1945, anyone who dared to use the word 'Jew' in any context was put on trial for a thousand years. No charges could be brought against Zoltán Bosnyák, so he was arrested and sentenced to death in a closed trial. After the sentence was pronounced, he was also placed in the notorious Small Detention Centre of the Collector's Prison. He was given a typewriter and told that if he withdrew his statements and put his revised position in writing, his life would be spared and a mistrial ordered. Zoltán Bosnyák's cellmate next door heard the typewriter tapping from Bosnyák's cell for weeks. What he wrote under the terror that was inflicted on him remains a mystery to this day. The fact is that one fine day a committee appeared at Bosnyák's cell and after two hours of negotiations he was sent away with a huge bundle of papers. That night, earlier than the normal time for an execution, the gallows was placed in the concrete pit and at three o'clock in the morning, Zoltán Bosnyák was hanged by electric light in the greatest silence." [11])

Works by

The Moscow-based "Provisional National Government" issued Prime Ministerial Decree No. 530/1945, which demanded the closure of all "fascist, anti-Soviet, anti-democratic" and above all: anti-Semitic press products. To implement the decree, in 1945 the "Press Department of the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office" published the "List of fascist, anti-Soviet, anti-democratic press products No. I". It included 14 works by Zoltán Bosnyák. [12])

His first work in print was "The Civilisation of our Capital". Published in 1935, with a foreword by Lajos Méhelyos, this statistical study merely presents facts about the impact of Jewry on life in Budapest, especially after 1867. In his short study, he refers to the works of Jean and Jerome Tharaud, [13] Alajos Kovács, [14] József Trenkó, [15] Gyula Szekfü [16]), which are still indispensable. The book has been published twice in Hungarian and once in German: the Hungarian version has 20,000 copies.

His next major study is "The Judaisation of Hungary" (1936), which describes the changes in ethnic relations in historical Hungary caused by the unrestricted immigration of Jews from Galicia.
In 1940 the Stádium Press Company published a two-volume summary of the

on the Jewish question. This historical study is supplemented by the author's own photographs. Despite the brevity of his bibliography, it is completely reliable from a scientific point of view. It does not fall short of the works of Theodor Fritsch[17] and Hans F. K. Günther[18]). Another basic work is "Facing Judea!" This is a popular summary of Jewish thought according to the prescriptions of the Talmud.

In 1940, he wrote a study on the life and works of Győző Istóczy, one of his own predecessors, which has never been more thorough. In 1942, the Hungarian National Association for the Defence of Hungary published his main thoughts on Istóczy's Jews.
In 1944, he published his book "Fighting the Jewish Danger" for the benefit of Hungarian education and public education. This can be considered his rarest work. This book presents historical, philosophical, theological and anthropological arguments against the Jewish worldview, which have not been refuted by the 'experts' since.
Some of his writings in the columns of "The Goal" have also been published in a special edition. In addition to the books mentioned so far, he has written a number of small studies on Hungarian racial protection, anthropology, eugenics and the Jewish question. These include:

The battle of two worlds (The Bern Protocol Trial) . Bp. 1935. Held J.
Neither anti-Semitism nor Jew-hatred, but national self-defence (Reply to the pamphlet by Dezső Korein). 1936. Held J.ny.
The Legal Settlement of the Jewish Question (On the 70th Anniversary of the Equal Rights Enfranchisement) . Mezőberény, 1936.
Fight against the Jewish press (Press policy study) Bp. 1938. Held J. ny.
The recent development of the Jewish question in Hungary. Bp. 1938.
The foreign blood (The Jewish question in a racial and political light) . Bp. 1938. Hungarian Cultural League, Held J. ny.
Prohászka and the Jewish question. Bp. 1938. Hungarian Cultural
League, Held J. ny. Transylvania in 1938. Bp. 1938. Held J. ny.
The third Jewish law and marriage. Bp. 1941. Author
Information leaflet of the Anti-Bolshevik Exhibition. Bp.
1941.
On the way to world domination... (The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion) Appendix: Zoltán Bosnyák. Bp. 1936. Lőcsey

In 1945, his books were crushed by an unnatural force. The encyclopaedias and biographies published since then do not even mention his name. Whether there has been a regime change in the field of culture in Hungary is anyone's guess. His thoughts are indispensable for understanding world history and Hungarian history.
It is an unnatural state of affairs that his studies, written in an accessible yet scholarly manner, are not known to history textbook writers, university and high school teachers, and publishers.
By reissuing the pioneers of Hungarian racial protection in an unmutilated form, we are not only destroying the castle of liberalism that many consider impregnable, but we are also laying the first stone of the castle of Hungarian racial protection.
Ifj. László Tompó

[1]) . On his life, see Dr. Pál Gulyás: Life and works of Hungarian writers. New series. Bp. 1941. vol. III. pp. 1067." Gyula Deák. Bp. 1942. National Association of Civil School Teachers, p. 51. Gizella Kutrucz. Bp. 1990. 13-61. and 135-177. pp. Let Kutrucz speak!" Filmwelt.
Vol. XXXII, No. 6, pp. 7-17.

[2]) See Székely Nép (Sfântu Gheorghe) , 28 May 1942, p. 8.

[3]) Randolph L. Braham: The politics of genocide. 2nd enlarged and revised ed. Bp. 1997. Belvárosi Könyvkiadó, vol. Belvelváros, Belváros, Brahmapol. p. 513.
[4]) The emergence of the Jews in Western history. Bp. 1944. Bethlen ny.
[5]) The Jewish question in our millennial legislation. Bp. 1943.
[6]) On the relationship between Bosnyak and Berend, see Randolph L. Braham, The Politics of Genocide, vol. pp. 460-462. 464. 466-467. - Mária Schmidt. 1990. Minerva, pp. 339-390.
[7]) 29 July 1944.
[8]) See footnote l. for the investigations of Gizella Kutrucz. There are many assumptions in these writings, so we have only been able to use what can be verified by sources.
[9]) "Let the Kutrucz talk!" Film World, Vol. XXXII, No. 6, p. 16.
[10]) "Let the Kutrucz talk!" Film World, Vol. XXXII, No. 6, p. 14.
[11]) Accusing gallows. (The real gravediggers of the Hungarian nation). 1999. Gede Brothers, 234. p.
[12]) 2nd rev. ed. Bp. 1946. p. 8.
[13]) The shadow of the cross. Bp. 1921. Pallas. and ibid.: Quand Israel est roi (Where Israel is King) . Originally published in Paris in 1921. In German in 1927. (In Hungarian by Cécile Tormay, published in Hungarian in the Napkelet.)
[14]) The occupation of Jewish space in Hungary. Bp. 1922. Author
[15]) Christian or Jewish Budapest. Bp. 1925. Held J. ny.
[16]) Three generations. Bp. 1920. Élet ny.
[17]) Handbook of the Jewish Question. Leipzig, 931.
[18]) Racial studies of the Jewish people. Munich, 1930. Lehmanns Verlag

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HERITAGE